

# GREAT ISSUES AND NATIONAL LEADERS

LIVE  
QUESTIONS

OF THE DAY  
DISCUSSED



THE VOTER'S GUIDE FOR  
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1908



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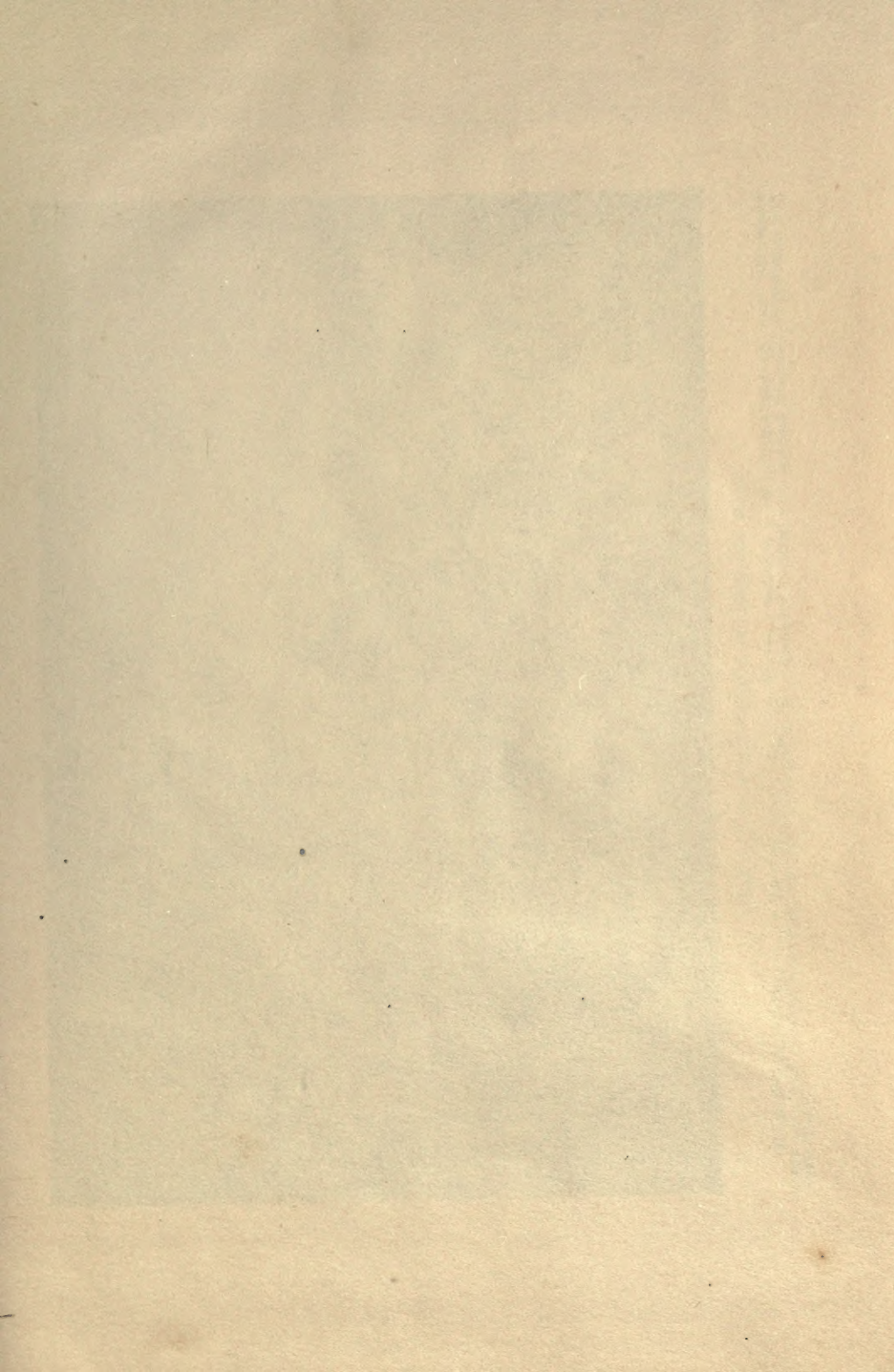






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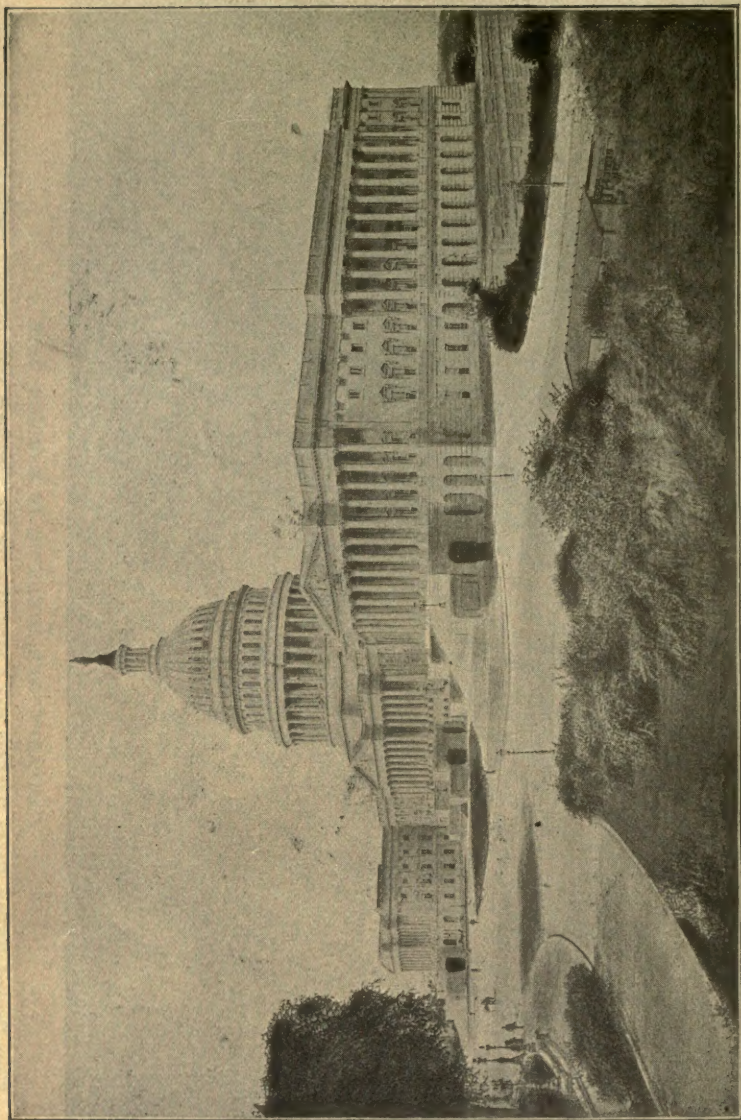




#### CAMPAIGN SPEECH-MAKING IN EARLIER DAYS

When General William Henry Harrison was a candidate for the Presidency great open-air meetings were held, where many oxen were roasted and eaten, speeches were made and processions marched with banners inscribed "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too."





THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, D. C.



The Voter's Non-Partisan Handbook and Campaign Guide

# **GREAT ISSUES** —AND— **NATIONAL LEADERS** =====OF 1908=====

## **BOOK I—CONTAINING**

HOW CONVENTIONS AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS ARE CONDUCTED. THE PROCEEDINGS AND PLATFORMS OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS OF ALL PARTIES; BIOGRAPHIES OF THE CANDIDATES OF ALL PARTIES

### **THE GREAT NATIONAL ISSUES AND PROBLEMS**

Discussed by Eminent Men of all  
shades of Political Opinion, including

**WILLIAM H. TAFT**

**WILLIAM J. BRYAN**

**THOMAS E. WATSON**

**JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES**

**WILLIAM R. HEARST**

**EUGENE V. DEBS**

**EUGENE W. CHAFIN AND OTHERS**

## **BOOK II—CONTAINING**

THE VOTER'S POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA;  
A COMPLETE COMPENDIUM OF NECESSARY, INSTRUCTIVE  
AND INTERESTING INFORMATION

### **ILLUSTRATED WITH**

A Complete Gallery of the Governors of the States, Portraits of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates of all Parties, Favorite Sons and Statesmen, and Stirring Scenes of the Campaign, comprising altogether

**OVER 100 PICTURES**



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# GREAT ISSUES AND NATIONAL LEADERS

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### BOOK I.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### INTRODUCTION.

The Objects and Uses of this Book as a Universal Educator and Voters' Hand-Book in the Campaign of 1908 .....	17
---	----

#### CHAPTER II.

##### HOW WE ELECT OUR RULERS AND MAKE OUR LAWS.

Useful Information for the Voter Upon the Organization of Our National Laws—How Our Democracy Differs from All Others—How We Elect Our President, Senators and Representatives—The Powers of the President—The Duties of Cabinet Officers—The Federal Courts—The Sovereignty of the States, etc...	22
--	----

#### CHAPTER III.

##### THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE. ITS OBJECTS AND ITS POWERS.

How the Federal Vote of the Forty-six States is Distributed and Valuable Information Showing the Changes Made Since the Last Census—Electoral Vote for 1908.....	33
--	----

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### HOW NATIONAL PRESIDENTIAL CONVENTIONS ARE CONDUCTED.

Vast Machinery Required—Careful Planning—Skilful Manipulation—Convention Required Thousands of Employees—Enormous Expenses—Wire-Pulling—Dark Horses, etc.—Telephone and Phonograph Equipments—Denver Convention Hall.....	36
---	----



CHAPTER V.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1908.

At Chicago, June 16, 17, 18 and 19—Meeting at the Coliseum—Seating Capacity Nearly 12,000—The Sixteenth Presidential Convention of the Party—The Seventh Held in the City of Chicago, the First Being the Famous Lincoln Convention of 1860—Story of That Convention—Organization of the Convention—Number of Delegates—Seating the Delegates—Called to Order by National Chairman Harry S. New—Photographing the Big Convention—Senator J. C. Burrows, of Michigan, Temporary Chairman—Amusing Incident in Speech—Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Made Permanent Chairman—Speech Defending Party's Records—Fight Over Anti-Injunction Plank—Platform Adopted—How Taft and Sherman Were Each Nominated on First Ballot ..... 42

CHAPTER VI.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM FOR 1908.

Republicanism Under Roosevelt—Equality of Opportunity—Revival of Business—Recent Republican Legislation—Postal Savings—Trusts—Railroads—Wage-Earners and American Labor—Anti-Injunction Plank—The Farmer—Rights of the Negro—Natural Resources—Army and Navy—Extension of Foreign Commerce—Veterans of the Wars—Democratic Incapacity—Fundamental Differences Between Republican and Democratic Parties ..... 96

CHAPTER VII.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT,

*Republican Candidate for President, 1908.*

Big, Brawny and Brainy—Thorough Equipment—Nominated on First Ballot—Pleasing Personality—American of Americans—Early Life and Education—Parentage—A Natural Lawyer—Important Positions on the Bench—Declined Positions on the Bench of the Supreme Court—Obedient to Duty's Call—Special Qualifications for Carrying Out the Roosevelt Policy—His Political Career—Governor of the Philippines—Purchase of the Friars' Lands—Secretary of War and Governor of Cuba—Tour Around the World—Panama ..... 109



## CHAPTER VIII.

JAMES SCHOOLCRAFT SHERMAN,

*Republican Candidate for Vice-President, 1908.*

Nominated on First Ballot—The Conservative Element's Candidate—Long and Faithful Service in the Party—Once a Democrat—Similarity to Mr. Taft—Birth and Parentage—Education—His Political and Congressional Record—As a Campaign Collector—Friend of Roosevelt ..... 116

## CHAPTER IX.

WHY TAFT SHOULD BE ELECTED.

BY HON. SAMUEL L. POWERS.

How Taft's Campaign Resembles that of Lincoln in 1864—The Main Policies of the Next Administration Protecting Trade and Commerce Against Monopolies—A Square Deal—The Pacific or Philippine Policy—Panama Canal—Our Wonderful Manufacturing Interests—Necessity of Extending Trade to the Far East—Taft Best Prepared of All Men to Deal with These Questions—A Thorough American—Ancestors in the War for Independence—A Thorough Lawyer—An Eminent Jurist—Roosevelt and the Financial Interests Favor Him..... 119

## CHAPTER X.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1908.

Meeting at Denver, July 7th to 10th—Old-Time Slogans of the Party—Free Trade—State's Rights—In Andrew Jackson's Times—Why the South Remained Solidly Democratic—The Causes of Sectionalism—Delegates at the Convention—New Convention Hall Cooled by Snow from the Mountains—Music by the Cowboy Band—Roosevelt's and Bryan's Daughters Present—Temporary Chairman Bell—The Keynote Speech of Democracy—Evils of Monopoly—The Tariff—Direct Election—Grover Cleveland Honored—The Pennsylvania Squabble—Great Bryan Demonstration—Hobson's Address—Chairman Clayton's Slogan of War—Dunn's Nominating Speech—Johnson and Gray Named—Platform Adopted—Vote by States—Bryan Nominated on First Ballot—John W. Kern Nominated for Vice-President ..... 125



## CHAPTER XI.

## PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1908.

Shall the People Rule?—Anti-Injunction—Tariff—Railroads—Trusts—Banking—State's Rights—Campaign Publicity—Income Tax—Republican Extravagance—Boss Rule in Congress—Waterways—Imperialism—Navy—Natural Resources—Election of Senators—Territories—Panama Canal and Pan-American Alliances—What the Party Stands For..... 176

## CHAPTER XII.

## WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN,

*Democratic Candidate for President, 1908.*

Power as an Orator—Compared to Webster, Clay and Blaine—Rises Superior to Defeat—Personal Popularity—Birth and Ancestry—Influence of His Father—Education and Early Training in Oratory—Study and Practice of Law—Elected to Congress—"The Cross of Gold"—Whirlwind Campaign—Second Nomination for President—Supported Parker in 1904—Tour Around the World—Home at "Fairview," Nebraska .... 190

## CHAPTER XIII.

## JOHN WORTH KERN,

*Democratic Candidate for Vice-President, 1908.*

Story-Teller Like Lincoln—Announcement of Nomination—Personal Friend of W. J. Bryan—Loyalty to His Party—Outline of His Life—Fought His Way Up—Fairness to Opponents—Home Life at Indianapolis ..... 198

## CHAPTER XIV.

## WHY DEMOCRATS SHOULD WIN IN 1908.

*By William Jennings Bryan and Henry Watterson.*

Republicans Dodging Reform—Opposing Campaign Publicity—Retreating on Railroad Investigation—Injunction Plank a Defeat of Roosevelt Policy—Blind to Conspiracy Among Great Lawbreakers—Oppose Popular Election of Senators—Seven Roosevelt Reform Movements Repudiated in Their Platform—The Independence Party Platform—Why Independents Should Vote Democratic Ticket—A United Democracy to the Rescue of the Republic—The People Demand Bryan's Election..... 201



## CHAPTER XV.

CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, 1908.

Meeting May 10th at Chicago—Organization—Communication with Western Federation of Miners—The Alcohol Question—Socialism and Organized Labor—The Courts Assailed—Unity with Socialist Labor Party—Debs and Hanford Nominated—Woman Suffrage Urged—Women Organizers to Work in States Where Women Vote ..... 209

## CHAPTER XVI.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY FOR 1908,

*Also Platform of the Socialist Labor Party and Principles of the Christian Socialist Fellowship.*

Principles of Socialism—The Platform—Program—General Demands—Industrial Demands—Political Demands—The Socialist Labor Party Convention—Its Difference from the Larger Party—Preston and Munro Nominated for President—Reasons for Not Uniting with the Socialist Party—Socialist Labor Party Platform—Christian Socialist Fellowship—Endorse Debs and Hanford—Declaration of Principles ..... 217

## CHAPTER XVII.

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS,

*Socialist Candidate for President, 1908.*

Pleasing Personality—The Poets Love Him—Tributes from James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field—Debs the Warrior—Birth, Parentage and Political Career—A Labor Leader—Trouble with the Courts—Story of His Imprisonment—Socialism versus Capitalism ..... 230

## CHAPTER XVIII.

BENJAMIN HANFORD,

*Socialist Candidate for Vice-President, 1908.*

A Runaway Boy—Homeless and Penniless in a Great City—Learns Printer's Trade—Drifting—Joins Printers' Union—Meets Fred. Long—Becomes a Socialist ..... 236



## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR.

*By Eugene V. Debs, Lyman Abbott, Charles H. Parkhurst,  
Frances Willard, and Others.*

Socialism Defined—Labor Ownership and Operation versus Capital Ownership—Heads, Hands, Hearts and Souls—Growth of Socialism—How It Will Help All—Wickedness of Present Business Ethics—Humanity and the Future—Opinions of Eminent Persons on Socialism ..... 239

## CHAPTER XX.

## THE PEOPLE'S PARTY AND THE CONVENTION OF 1908.

Under the Leadership of Watson—Jeffersonian Principles Claimed—Populism's Strongest Showing—Thomas E. Watson and Samuel W. Williams Nominated ..... 246

## CHAPTER XXI.

## PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM, 1908.

Preamble—The Money Question—Land Question—Trusts and Monopolies—Initiative and Referendum—Savings Banks—Labor's Rights—The Courts and Injunctions ..... 249

## CHAPTER XXII.

## THOMAS E. WATSON,

*People's Party Candidate for President, 1908.*

Battling with Minority for Good of Majority—Sowing for the Future—Draws Inspiration from Thomas Jefferson—Birth and Education—Practice of Law—Enters Politics—Services in Georgia Legislature and in Congress—Literary Career—"Tom Watson's Magazine," "The Jeffersonian"—"Hand-Book of Politics and Economics," and Other Writings ..... 253

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS,

*People's Party Candidate for Vice-President, 1908.*

Ran with Watson in 1904—Educated for Ministry—Entered Law Instead—An Old-Time Democrat—Single Tax Advocate—Student of Politics and Literature ..... 256

CHAPTER XXIV.

PRINCIPLES AND CLAIMS OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

*By Thomas E. Watson and Samuel W. Williams.*

The Principles of the Democracy—Populism Contrasted with Bryan-ism—The Triumph of Populism—Hearst's Independence Party Attacked—Hirelings Lead the Party—Some Facts and Arguments—Old Parties Cannot Be Trusted—Banks and Money. . . . 258

CHAPTER XXV.

INDEPENDENCE PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1908.

Organization of the New Party—Hearst's Arguments for It—Comments from the Press—Its First Meeting in National Convention—Cheers for Hearst—Hisses for Bryan—Hearst's Keynote Speech—Comparison of Platforms—Walsh's Speech—Reasons for Deserting Old Parties—Attempt to Nominate Bryan Causes Trouble—Thomas L. Hisgen and John Temple Graves Nominated . . . . . 263

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY PLATFORM FOR 1908.

Old Parties Assailed—Looking Back to Lincoln—For Direct Nomination, the Initiative and Referendum—Money in Campaigns—Labor Plank Against Child Labor—For Tariff Revision—Demand Anti-Trust Law and Parcels Post System—Oppose Asiatic Immigration—Protection of Public Lands—Popular Election of Senators . . . . . 282

CHAPTER XXVII.

NATIONAL LEADERS OF THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY.

*William Randolph Hearst the Founder—Thomas L. Hisgen, Candidate for President—John Temple Graves, Candidate for Vice-President.*

The Story of Their Lives and Achievements Concisely Told—Former Political Affiliation, etc. . . . . 291



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## CLAIMS OF THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY AND SUMMARY OF ITS PRINCIPLES.

*By John Temple Graves.*

Why I Left the Democratic Party—Wobbling on Issues—Radical  
Once More Under Bryan—No Hope from Republican Party—  
Mission of the Independence Party—The Hope of the Country  
the New Party ..... 300

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY AND THE CONVENTION OF 1908.

Map of "Wet" and "Dry" States—Why More Votes Are Not Cast  
for Prohibition—Wonderful Gain of Prohibition Sentiment in  
1907 and 1908—Where Gains Have Been Made—National Pro-  
hibition Coming—Assembling of the Convention—Patton's Key-  
note Speech—Eugene W. Chafin and Aaron S. Watkins Nomi-  
nated—Both Their Party Nominees for Governor in Their  
Respective States—Campaign Fund Raised ..... 304

## CHAPTER XXX.

## THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION PLATFORM FOR 1908.

The Shortest National Platform on Record—Proposes Constitutional  
Amendment Against Traffic in Liquor—Direct Election of  
United States Senators—Income Tax—Postal Savings Banks—  
Regulation of Corporations—Permanent Tariff Commission—  
Uniform Divorce Law—Prohibition of Child Labor—Suffrage  
Based on Intelligence—Preservation of National Resources—  
What the Party Proposes to Do in Campaign of 1908. .... 318

## CHAPTER XXXI.

## EUGENE W. CHAFIN,

*Prohibition Candidate for President, 1908.*

A Prohibitionist of Long Standing—Early Life—Earned His Way  
Through College—Begins Practicing Law—A Temperance  
Orator—Honors Heaped Upon Him by His Party, Both in Wis-  
consin and Illinois—Touching Speech to Convention When  
Nominated—Enters Upon the Campaign—Visit to W. J.  
Bryan—Incident of Springfield Race Riot ..... 320

## CHAPTER XXXII.

AARON S. WATKINS,

*Prohibition Candidate for Vice-President, 1908.*

Lawyer, Minister and Teacher—Birth. Ancestry and Education—  
 Preached Twelve Years—Vice-President Ohio Northern Uni-  
 versity—Ran for Congress—Ran for Governor in 1905—Re-  
 nominated in 1908—Named for Vice-President ..... 324

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

WHY PROHIBITION IS A POLITICAL ISSUE AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR.

*By A. E. Wilson, Governor Hanly and Silas C. Swallow.*

Necessarily a Political Issue—Greater Question Than the Tariff.  
 Injunction, Senatorial Election. etc.—“Why I Hate the Liquor  
 Traffic”—The National Aspect of the Problem—Protected by  
 Federal Law—Nation’s Enemy—All Voters Stockholders—  
 Your Duty to Speak at Ballot Box—An Appeal to Church  
 Members ..... 326

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE FORUM OF THE CANDIDATES.

*Brief Addresses by the Candidates.*

Taft on “The Republican Doctrine of Protection” and “Combinations  
 and Trusts”—Bryan on “The Tariff Question” and “The Labor  
 Question”—Chafin on “Hope of Emancipation from Rum Rule”  
 —Debs on “What Socialism Means”—Watson on “The Money  
 Question”—Graves on “The Hope of Populism in the Indepen-  
 dence Party” ..... 332

## CHAPTER XXXV.

FUN OF THE CAMPAIGNS.

Toast to the Also Rans—Franklin’s Toast—What Is Liberty—Music  
 in Politics—Samples of Old-Time Campaign Songs—Tippe-  
 canoe and Tyler, Too—Up Salt River—The Full Dinner Pail—  
 Rough and Ready—Whig Song of 1840—Buchanan’s Cam-  
 paign Song—Lincoln and Yankee Doodle—Martial Strains for  
 Grant—Grandfather’s Hat—Bryan Song, 1896 and 1900—Nam-  
 ing Babies for Taft and Bryan—Call Me Bill—Taft and “He”—  
 The Water Wagon—When Labor Rules the World ..... 344



## BOOK II.

### HISTORICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

---

#### CHAPTER XXXVI.

##### FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICAN PROGRESS.

- A Wonderful Country—Peopled from the Best Stock of Europe—Common Aspiration for Liberty—First Steps Toward Union—The Declaration of Independence—Constitutional Convention—Expansion of Territory—Resources of the Greater Republic—Wars for Anglo-Saxon Supremacy—Wars from Political and Social Causes—The Victories of Peace—Industrial and Commercial Development—Marvels of the Past Century—The Greatness of the Republic ..... 359

#### CHAPTER XXXVII.

##### FROM WASHINGTON TO ROOSEVELT.

##### *A Bird's-eye View of the Presidential Administrations of One Hundred and Twenty Years.*

- A Critical Year in Our History—Washington's Two Terms—John Adams' Administration—How Jefferson Defeated Adams—James Madison and the War of 1812—James Monroe and the Monroe Doctrine—Era of Good Feeling Under John Quincy Adams—Stormy Career of Andrew Jackson—Chief Events in the Administrations of Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore—Franklin Pierce and the Rising of the War Cloud—Buchanan, the Dred Scott Decision, and the Panic of 1857—Lincoln, the Great Civil War and Emancipation—Andrew Johnson. Ulysses Grant and the Reconstruction—Hayes, Garfield and Arthur—Grover Cleveland and the Restoration of Democratic Power—Harrison Takes It Back Into Republican Hands—A Cleveland Landslide to Democracy Again—McKinley and the Gold Standard—Spanish-American War and World Power—Roosevelt and His Strenuous Reforms—Panama Canal Begun ..... 373



**THEODORE ROOSEVELT (1901-1909)**





GROVER CLEVELAND

The last Democratic President. The "Grand Old Man" of his party, and America's greatest champion of Free Trade. Died June 24, 1908. Universally esteemed for his honesty and patriotism, and mourned by his countrymen of all political creeds.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## DRAMATIC PASSAGES, TRICKS AND TURNING POINTS IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

*By George Barton.*

Power of Oratory on Conventions—Conkling's Nomination of Grant—Blaine the Plumed Knight—Garfield's Boomerang Speech—Hancock the Superb—Bryan's "Crown of Thorns and Cross of Gold"—The Strategy of American Politics—Numerous Incidents Cited ..... 406

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

## THE DANGER OF CENTRALIZATION AND THE LOSS OF INDIVIDUALITY.. 420

*By Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University.*

## CHAPTER XL.

## THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

*By Booker T. Washington and Others.*

A Factor in Industry, Commerce, Politics and Society—The Race Problem a Serious One and a National One—A Virile Race—Senator Tillman's Argument—John Temple Graves' Theory—Booker T. Washington's Address Before National Educational Association—The Springfield, Ill., Race Riot ..... 423

## CHAPTER XLI.

## ORGANIZED LABOR IN AMERICA—ITS RIGHTS AND ITS DEMANDS.

*By Samuel P. Gompers and John Mitchell.*

The American Federation of Labor—Gompers and the Republican and Democratic Conventions—Old Parties Cannot Disregard Labor—Significance of 1904 Vote—Campaign of Labor Is On—Legislation Through the Ballot—The Hatters' Case—Exemption for Trades Unions—Labor's Call to Action—Both Parties Have Spoken, Choose Between Them—Attitude of the Two Parties—No Promise to Deliver Labor Vote—Mitchell Head of Trade Agreement Department of National Civic Federation—Coal Mining and Coal Miners—Duty of the Nation to Mine Workers... 430



## CHAPTER XLII.

BIOGRAPHIES OF STATE GOVERNORS AND CONDENSED INFORMATION  
ABOUT THE STATES.

Containing a Short Life Sketch of the Governor of Every State and Territory, His Politics, Term, Salary, Outline History, etc.—Also Interesting Statistics and Concise Historical Facts Concerning the States ..... 444

## CHAPTER XLIII.

## GROVER CLEVELAND.

*A Brief Biography and Popular Estimate*

Of the Late Democratic Statesman and President of the United States from 1885 to 1889 and again from 1893 to 1897..... 477

## CHAPTER XLIV.

## THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

*President of the United States.*

A Character Sketch ..... 479

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

THE Presidential election of 1908 will take place on Tuesday, November 3d. The object of this volume is to place in the hands of every voter, in advance, such information as will enable him to vote with patriotic intelligence upon the issues which the sovereign people will, on that day, decide by their ballots. To do this is no easy task. It cannot be done by placing before the voter the platforms and the principles of any one party. It can only be done by arranging in convenient form, and placing at his disposal side by side, or at least in the same volume, the platforms, the principles, the arguments and the life sketches of the candidates of all the different political parties.

In the last national campaign (1904) there were eight national parties. Some of them, it is true, so insignificant, when counted by the side of the great Republican and Democratic Parties, that they were hardly observed by the average voter; and yet each one of those parties stood for principles and advocated doctrines which, within themselves, possessed not only the proverbial grain of truth, but offered suggestions and advocated principles which have greatly influenced the making of the new platforms for the year 1908.

#### THE PARTIES OF 1904.

To enumerate the parties which came before the country with platforms setting forth their claims in 1904 we have: first, the Republican Party, whose platform was adopted in Chicago June 22d, with Theodore Roosevelt as standard bearer, securing 7,623,486 popular votes and 336 electoral votes. Thus he became, for the second time,



the President of the United States, his term expiring March 4, 1909. Second, the Democratic Party, whose platform was adopted July 8th, at St. Louis, Mo., with Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, as the party's nominee. Mr. Parker received 5,077,971 popular votes and 140 electoral votes. Third, the People's Party, whose platform was adopted at Springfield, Ill., July 4th, with Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, as their candidate for President, polling 117,183 popular votes. Fourth, the platform of the Prohibition Party, adopted at Indianapolis, June 30th, with Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, as the nominee, who received 258,536 popular votes. Fifth, the platform of the Socialist Party, adopted at Chicago May 5th, with Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, for the second time, at its head, and receiving 402,283 popular votes. Sixth, the platform of the Socialist Labor Party, adopted at New York in the month of July with Charles Hunter Corrigan for President, for whom 31,249 popular votes were cast. Seventh, the platform of the United Christian Party, adopted at St. Louis May 2, 1904, and eighth, the Continental Party, which met at Chicago and formed its platform August 31, 1904. The reading of all these platforms is advisable to those who would compare the last national issues, one with the other, and also with the platforms of the present year.

#### A VOTER'S HAND-BOOK.

It is every voter's duty to study the issues and the men now before the country. Every Democrat should be as familiar with the Republican issues and leaders as with his own. Every Republican should be familiar with the Democratic claims and their champions. Every Socialist, Populist, Prohibitionist, Independent, and members of all political parties, should be familiar with the claims and the principles of the other parties. It is a privilege that every man should avail himself of as well as a duty that he owes to his country to study all the platforms and all the issues, otherwise he cannot be informed and do his duty as a patriot at the polls.

No matter how insignificant the party or the candidate we have, in this book, the platform of that party and the biography of that candidate and the principles which that party stands for and advocates in 1908.

In addition to the above we have an outline history of our country, the administration of all the Presidents, and the story of the great campaigns of the past from Washington to Roosevelt. The book also presents varied statistics and information, that every voter ought to have in book form, for ready reference.

#### A PORTRAIT GALLERY OF NATIONAL CELEBRITIES.

There are full-page portraits of all the Presidential candidates; also portraits of the Vice-Presidential candidates. In addition to these will be found portraits of all the former Presidents of the United States, and portraits of all the Governors in the forty-six states and two territories in America. The volume also contains the portraits of many favorite sons together with illustrations of famous events in our nation's history. Altogether there are considerably more than one hundred portraits and other illustrations in the work.

#### A TIMELY WORK.

It is important that every voter should have such a book at this critical period. The greatest educational campaign of American history is now facing our nation. The people are reading and thinking more than they have ever done before. The lines are sharply drawn. The leaders are men of marked ability. The contest is on; the battle cry is heard in every village and hamlet throughout the nation; the fight intensifies day by day, and will continue to do so until the sovereign people settle the contest by their ballots in November next. The whole country is studying the issues and the men. Thousands of young men will vote their first national ticket in 1908. There are



literally millions of citizens "on the fence," who do not know for whom they will vote.

The American is noted for his patriotism. He desires to vote, and he wants to vote right. He does not put his party above his country, and he should not hesitate to leave his party when he finds his party is wrong, or that another party is more right than his own. This is the spirit of the true reformer; and never before was there such a spirit of reform so universally abroad in our nation. Never before were voters studying the questions and issues of the day so intelligently as they are at present. Never before was there such a demand as there is at present for a book that presents all parties, all issues, all principles fairly and squarely before the American voter. This book has come to meet that demand, in an independent and unbiased manner.

The possessor of this volume will get his information on socialism from the socialist standpoint; on prohibition from the prohibitionist standpoint; on populism from the People's Party standpoint; on democracy from the democratic standpoint; on republicanism from the republican standpoint. And he should be thereby better able to make up his mind, as a patriot, to broadly assimilate all of the wholesome principles from all of these parties, and to vote intelligently, from the dictates of his own judgment, for the best interests of his country at large.

#### A WORK OF PERMANENT VALUE.

This is a work that every patriot and voter may keep permanently in his library. There will never come a time when its contents will cease to be of interest. It contains a digest of political information, the historical value of which will not cease to be useful. Here are the platforms of all the parties of 1904 and the platforms of all the parties of 1908. The lives of prominent men who will be prominent in our active political history for a quarter of a century yet to come,

and many of whom will be prominent figures in history for all time, are given in this work, for the first time in book form. The great questions which have recently arisen in the politics of our country and which will make much of our future history, appear here in a virgin freshness that will throw light upon the records of any succeeding record written after their maturity.

"THE DRAMATIC PASSAGES, TRICKS AND TURNING-POINTS IN AMERICAN POLITICS" are made the subject of a special division of this book, and will serve as an enlightening source of information for politicians in all time. Another division of the work is entitled, "THE GREAT CAMPAIGNS IN AMERICA." This presents in a racy and convenient form the story of a century's contest for the Presidency. "A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS" for one hundred and twenty years, from Washington to Roosevelt, forms a special department; and its treatment gives a digest of the great political events which have happened in the administration of our twenty-six Presidents. A chapter on "FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICAN GROWTH" presents in a striking manner an outline of the great achievements and advances in civilization made in the New World since its was first discovered by Columbus four centuries ago.

Thus, the work comprises not only a voter's guide for 1908 with a biography of the leaders of all the political parties, but it is a compendium of information on the growth and history of our country, a digest of the administration of all our Presidents, and an outline story of the great campaigns of the past—that will be of permanent value to every American citizen.



## CHAPTER II.

### HOW WE ELECT OUR RULERS AND MAKE OUR LAWS.

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#### PRACTICAL INFORMATION FOR EVERY VOTER.

To thoroughly comprehend the importance of a Presidential election and the details attendant upon this important function and privilege of the American citizens, we need to know with some degree of accuracy the organization of our government and its equipment. What we now have to say will lead up to a better understanding of the election of a President and his duties, as well as the election and duties of other national and state officials.

The Government of the United States is unique in three respects: It is the largest and most successful democracy that has ever existed, it is a federal system, and it has a written Constitution. Perhaps it may be called unique in its methods also, for no other government is made up of three separate and yet equal branches, each in some sense the government, but all necessary to any complete action of the nation; and still again those departments, the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judiciary, have each their own peculiar and distinctive features. Legislation is representative and not democratic. The Executive has not only the duty of executing the laws, but a power of veto over them, and the Supreme Court stands alone in all the world in its place and importance.

#### THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

The Government of the United States, in the expressive phrase of Abraham Lincoln, is "A government by the people, of the people, and for the people." It is this which is the great glory of our nation, and it must not be forgotten in comparing it with others. It is often claimed that England is more democratic in fact, Germany more attentive to the needs of the people; but these advantages ignore the

great fundamental distinction of this republic, the fact that all power is derived from the people. Briton and German alike hold, that power comes from the throne and its reserved rights remain with the throne. But every American believes that power comes from the people, the Executive is in some sense an agent, and the reserved rights remain with the people. The difference is not only fundamental, but there result from it doctrines and relations which run through all our system and our methods as well. No amount of superficial flexibility, as in England, or of temporary advantage, as in Germany, can at all compensate for this great and far-reaching distinction, this confidence in and dependence upon the people.

#### THE CONSTITUTION OUR FUNDAMENTAL LAW.

Again, we have two kinds of law—that made by Congress as the needs of the time require, law which may be altered according to occasion, and the great permanent Constitution, which only the people and the States acting together can alter, and that after long and careful process, and to which all other law must conform. This Constitution is truly enough the bulwark of our liberties; no sudden whims or changing passions can deprive us of the fundamental rights guaranteed by it; the storm of battle has proved it strong enough to stand against all assaults, and the stress of unequaled growth has shown it broad enough for all demands. It seems, indeed, as if a superhuman wisdom was given to the forefathers. Molded by Hamilton, and Franklin, and the Adamses, and Madison, and Ellsworth, and many another great man, it drew its inspiration from French philosophers and Dutch methods, and mingled love and hate for English practice. The government of a little Baptist church in Pennsylvania, and the Connecticut town-meeting, and the conflicting interests of different sections, and many other elements entered in to make this great instrument what it is. Under it we have lived for one hundred years, have stretched our boundaries from one ocean to the other, from the frozen seas of the Arctic Circle to the tropical waters of the Gulf and the islands of the distant Orient. We have endured four wars, and are grown so strong that the great governments of Europe hesitate to encounter us, and sit by our side in equal honor; we have become eighty million people, and our riches are matched with imperial treasuries, but our doors are ever open to the laborer



and we give him all opportunity, until he shall stand at the top, if it pleases him. Side by side the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, the chief among us and the least of all, hold the great gift of governing, and we count them each a man; and the whole great and glorious structure rests on the firm and enduring rock of the Constitution.

#### THE THREE GREAT BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT.

The government is carried on, according to the terms of this Constitution and under its provisions, by three great branches: Congress, which makes the laws; the Judiciary, which interprets these laws and decides whether they agree with the Constitution; and the Executive, which carries them out. And since this is a government of the people, Congress, which represents the people and expresses their will, is the center around which the whole government turns.

Congress is composed of two houses, the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives is elected every two years, and each member of it represents nearly 200,000 people. Each State sends as many Congressmen as are necessary to represent its whole population, being divided into districts containing each a population of 200,000, from among which the members of Congress are chosen. The requirement that the representative shall live within the State is an important distinction between our system and that of England. An English district or borough may elect a member of Parliament from any part of the nation, and thus it is believed the House of Commons will be composed of the best men in the country; but it is our purpose to have every part of the country represented, and, therefore, by an unwritten law, never disregarded, we require that each Congressman shall reside in the district which chooses him. Thus, so far as possible, every man in the country is represented. It must always be remembered, however, that the government of the United States is not a pure democracy, but a republic. It is first and foremost a representative government. In every possible way endeavor is made that each man shall be represented, but he must act through a representative. The short term of service insures that these representatives shall reflect the changing will of the people, and furnishes a remedy for all unjust or foolish action. He shows an entire ignorance of our system who complains of the tyranny of gov-

ernment in the United States. The House of Representatives is its chief governing power, and, remade as it is by the people themselves once in two years, it is constantly controlled by the will of the people.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SENATE.

This very fact, the fact that the House of Representatives can be altered so readily, and always will reflect every passing change of public sentiment, made it necessary and highly desirable to add some more permanent element to Congress. For this, among other reasons, a Senate was created. Senators are elected once in six years, and represent the people of a whole State. Thus, because he is more permanent, and because he is chosen by a larger constituency, a Senator represents the more stable elements of political thought, not so much the passing feeling of the moment, but the deep underlying opinions and wishes of a large number of people. Moreover, as the Senate is so arranged that only one Senator from a State is elected at a time, and only one-third of the Senators go out of office on any given year, it becomes in some sense a stable body, and acts as a check upon the excitements and lack of wisdom natural to such a body as the House.

Still another reason, and that of great importance, marks the value of the Senate to the people. It is, in fact, more necessary to the preservation of our system than the House itself. The Senators represent the States directly, and each State has two Senators, no more and no less. This places each State on an equal footing with the other, a result obviously an important element in our political system, and of the greatest practical importance to our liberties. By reason of this provision in our Constitution, Delaware or Rhode Island are of equal power in the Senate with Texas or New York, furnishing a check upon the unregulated control of any one section. If the Senate, like the House, represented the population and not the States, shortly Congress would be controlled by the great cities, or, perhaps, by the great States. The tyranny of New York or Chicago would be replaced by the tyranny of California or Texas. The immense mass of their people would always control the country, and we should be at the mercy of a practical monarchy. The equal power of the small States in the Senate goes far to prevent this result and to preserve the rule of the whole people, an actual as well as a nominal democracy. The Senate is altogether necessary to the



country, and he is a false friend who would persuade the country to undermine it or destroy its relations to the States by making it a popular body. So thoroughly was this understood by the men who made the Constitution that a unique provision was inserted forbidding any amendment which should deprive the States of their equal representation in the Senate without their own consent, practically a prohibition of such an amendment.

Congress has power to raise funds for our necessities by taxes, to borrow money, if necessary, to establish postal facilities, to coin or print our money, to regulate our foreign affairs, to make war, to control many other matters, and to make all the laws relative to these concerns.

#### THE PRESIDENT AS LAW MAKER.

It requires both houses of Congress to pass the laws that govern us. A bill originates in the House or the Senate, according to its nature, is debated and passed by that body, sent to the other, debated and passed by that, and then sent to the President, who signs it, and thereby it becomes a law. If any of these conditions fail it falls to the ground. Either branch can refuse to pass a measure, and the President may refuse to sign, or veto it. But in this latter case, since the will of the people is the supreme power, the vetoed bill may be passed again, over the head of the President, as the phrase goes, if two-thirds of each House of Congress can be thereafter induced to vote for it. All bills for furnishing money must originate in the House of Representatives, that the people, by controlling the purse strings, may still more thoroughly control the government. The Senate, on the other hand, has the power to consider and pass upon our treaties, and has also the duty of confirming or refusing all appointments of any importance.

The officers of the House of Representatives are a Speaker, elected from among its members, who presides over its deliberations, a clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, a doorkeeper, and several smaller offices necessary to carry on its business. The Senate is presided over by the Vice-President of the United States, and in his absence by one of the Senators, chosen by themselves for that duty, and known as the President *pro tempore*. This body has also a clerk and sergeant-at-arms and minor officials. The business of Congress is largely done

by its committees, which consider all important subjects before they are brought to the attention of either house. These committees are appointed by the Speaker in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate are selected by a committee of the Senators. Each Congress lasts for two years, although not in session all of the time. Congress meets in the Capitol at Washington on the first Monday in December of every year. The first year the session lasts until both houses can agree to adjourn, thus giving time for free and ample discussion of every subject. These "long sessions" usually continue until July or August, and sometimes until October. On the alternate years Congress is directed by the Constitution to adjourn on the fourth day of March, thus preventing the attempt to make any one Congress permanent. All Congressmen are paid a salary, in order that poor men may have an equal chance with the rich. This salary is \$7,500 for both Senators and Representatives, except in the case of the Speaker and President of the Senate, each of whom receives \$12,000. No religious tests are allowed, and any man may belong to either house who is a citizen of the United States, who resides in the State which elects him, and who is of suitable age, twenty-five years in the House and thirty years in the Senate.

When the laws are made they must be carried out; and this is the business of the Executive Department of the government, a co-equal branch with the legislative department. The President is the chief executive officer of the nation, and as such is properly the chief personage and principal officer in the land. It is no mistake to style him the "chief ruler" of the United States, for, although the people are our only rulers, they do this ruling through and by means of the President and Congress, and thus depute him to rule over them for the time being. The President is only in a limited sense the agent of the people, but he is their chosen, although temporary, ruler, who is to carry out their laws.

The President and Vice-President are chosen once in four years and elected by the people, who vote by States and not directly as a nation. On the second Tuesday in November the citizens of each State vote for a body of men, equal in number to their Congressmen, called electors, who in turn choose the President a few weeks later. As a matter of fact, their choice is always known beforehand, as they are elected on the distinct understanding of their preference. Although



the method is somewhat clumsy, the principle is most necessary. In all our affairs, so far as possible, we must continue to act by States. It is only thus that our federal system can be preserved, and in that lies our safety and success.

The qualifications for President are that he shall be a native-born American, who has resided in the country for fourteen years, and who is thirty-five years old. He is inaugurated with much pomp and ceremony on the fourth of March, every four years, and resides at the Executive Mansion, or White House, in Washington, during his term of office. He is paid a salary of \$50,000, that he may keep up a suitable dignity as our chief ruler. That of the Vice-President is \$12,000. If the President is guilty of treason, or other "high crimes and misdemeanors," of such importance that his continuance in office is dangerous to our liberties, he may be impeached by the House of Representatives, tried by the Senate, and, if found guilty, deposed, in which case his office would fall to the Vice-President. An effort was made to impeach President Johnson in 1866, but there being no adequate ground for such action, he was acquitted.

#### DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET.

The duties of the Executive Department are mainly connected with the administration of the laws. The President is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and he also represents the nation in matters connected with foreign governments. To that end he sends out foreign ministers to other governments, and consuls, to conduct our business affairs in foreign ports. A large body of foreign ministers sent from other countries for a similar purpose reside at Washington, and throughout our cities are scattered foreign consuls for the transaction of commercial business.

The President is assisted in his duties by a body of advisers, known as the Cabinet. This consists of eight officers of great importance, of his own selection and appointment, each of whom has control of affairs of the government in his particular department. The Secretary of State conducts our foreign relations; the Secretary of the Treasury our financial affairs; the Secretary of War is over our armies; the Attorney-General is the law officer of the government; the Postmaster-General superintends the postal service; the Secretary of the Navy commands our navy; the Secretary of the Interior is

concerned with patents, the Indians, the public lands, and many other important matters; and the Secretary of Agriculture promotes the farming interests of the country. Each of these secretaries has his office in Washington, where he attends to the enormous business of his department. Under him are an immense number of officers and clerks, all appointed either by the President or the head of the department, to carry on the business of government. Each department is divided into bureaus, and much of the work is of the highest value and importance.

In case of the death or inability of the President, the duties of his office devolve upon the Vice-President, and after him would fall to members of the Cabinet successively, in the order already named. But should any member of the Cabinet be obliged to take this office, he would fill it only until a new election could be held.

#### THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

An elaborate system of courts makes up our national judiciary, and secures to the citizens protection and justice. In some respects the most extraordinary feature of our government is the Supreme Court, which is unique in its power and importance. It is the business of this tribunal to construe the laws, to decide whether they agree with the Constitution, to settle any question as to whether the Constitution has been violated in deed, to decide upon suits between the States and the nation, and to determine legal questions between this and other countries. It is co-ordinate with Congress and the Executive, and yet the highest power in the land, for both bow to its decisions. Law and justice are preserved in its keeping, lest either of the two great branches of the government usurp the power, or transcend the Constitution. Any law the constitutionality of which is questioned, may be brought before this court, and its decision is final, confirming it against all opposition, or making it null and void, and thus of no effect whatever. This court consists of nine judges, or justices as they are called, appointed for life or good behavior, by the President, and confirmed by the Senate. They are paid \$10,000 a year, with a pension after they become too old for longer service. The head of the court, or the Chief Justice, administers the oath to the President on his inauguration, and many times stands next him in rank and position. Certainly no nobler



illustration of the might and majesty of law can be given than this court, adjusting the affairs of the nation itself, to which President and people alike bow, in token that righteousness and justice are greater than power.

#### STATE SOVEREIGNTY THE SECRET OF OUR STRENGTH.

No account of our government would be in any sense complete, nor indeed would it be intelligible, that did not take into account our Federal system. The whole country is divided into forty-six States and two Territories—New Mexico and Arizona, in America proper—with the outlying Territories of Alaska, Porto Rico and Hawaii. Each State is a separate and distinct government, having control of its local affairs, and responsible to its own people. In all those larger affairs which concern the whole country, it joins with its fellows in the general government, but the power of this general government comes from the States. The States are not given more or less power by the United States, but the States give more or less power to the United States and reserve the other rights to themselves. The United States, however, has supreme control over all matters relating to the nation, and will not allow any State to infringe upon the rights or jeopardize the safety of any other. For that reason it will not permit any State or States to secede, because the co-operation of them all is necessary to the safety of the Union. We are States united into a nation, but we are a nation, one and indissoluble.

The history of the country makes plain these relations. Thirteen colonies, settled by different peoples of different origins and for widely different reasons, joined each other for the sake of common safety and national prosperity. Practical necessity and political wisdom alike dictated that local affairs should continue under the control of each colony or State, while matters of general interest were decided by the whole acting together. To this end each colony gave up to the nation its general rights, but reserved the power over its internal affairs. It is this Federal system which makes it possible for a Democratic government to rule such an immense country, and it is only this. Therefore, while we are careful to retain the supreme control to the general government, we must more and more relegate sectional concerns, however large and important, to the States; and we must guard against the centralizing of our affairs in the hands of

the National Government, however much to our temporary advantage it may be. In the nature of the case we cannot govern territory of such enormous extent, with so various a population and such varying interest, by Democratic methods unless we keep strictly to the Federal idea. It is our only safety.

Each State has a Governor, Legislature, and Supreme Court of its own; the Governor, Legislature, and, in some States, the Supreme Court, being elected by its own people. Different States require different qualifications in their voters; in some a man must be able to read and write; in some be possessed of certain property; in one there is no distinction between men and women; and various other requirements are found in the different States. Whatever makes a man a voter in his own State allows him to vote in that State in national elections also.

The term of office of State officers varies greatly, some States holding their Legislatures annually, and some biennially; some Governors being elected for one year and some for longer terms. In all these, its own affairs, the State is supreme. Each has its own courts, under its Supreme Court, for the furtherance of justice. Local affairs also are very variously administered, by townships, counties, parishes, and other subdivisions, many of them very ancient, and in like manner cities are governed in different ways. All this diversity in unity serves to make one homogeneous nation of this heterogeneous multitude of eighty million people.

The original thirteen States, little as they dreamed of the great territory over which the flag of the United States floats so proudly to-day, had no narrow idea of a nation, and provided for its expansion even better than they knew. The common land belonging to the nation, and as yet largely unsettled, is held by the common government, in Territories. These are governed by officers, appointed by the President, and are subject to United States laws only. Their own Legislatures arrange their local affairs, and each sends a delegate to Congress to look after its interests, but the law does not allow him to vote. As soon as any Territory contains a population large enough, Congress admits it to the Union as a State, with all the right and privileges of its older sisters, the President proclaims that fact to the world, and a new commonwealth is added to the sisterhood, marked by the new star in the flag we honor. Thus one after



another we have already seen thirty-three new States added to that little band of thirteen, some of them great and rich realms many times as large as the whole nation at its beginning. The last State created was Oklahoma, which was admitted November 16, 1907.

Oklahoma comprises both the Indian Territory, with its area of 31,440 square miles, and Oklahoma Territory, with its area of 39,030 square miles, thus making the area of the new State 70,470 square miles, with a population approximating 1,600,000. Oklahoma, while the youngest, is one of the most progressive of our States. Her blind Senator, Thomas Gore, and also Senator Owen, are both making themselves felt in the national capital. Mr. Gore is the first blind man to sit in the National Legislature and Mr. Owen is one of the first of prominent Indian blood to occupy a seat in the Senate. The State is mainly agricultural, producing abundantly wheat, oats, corn, cotton and flax. The western part is largely devoted to stock raising. The mineral products consist of gypsum, granite, sandstone, limestone and petroleum. There is also some natural gas, coal and copper. The mineral output of the State in 1906 was estimated at nearly \$11,000,000. The State has no navigable streams, but it has nearly 3,000 miles of railway within its borders.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

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The popular vote of the people of the country cast at the November balloting of every national campaign year generally decides who shall be President and Vice-President of the United States. But this is not always true. Each State settles its choice within itself, and sends representatives to cast its final ballot. Thus the President and Vice-President of the United States are chosen by officials termed "Electors" in each State, who are, under existing State laws, chosen by the qualified voters thereof by ballot, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November in every fourth year preceding the year in which the Presidential term expires.

The body composed of the Electors to cast the electoral vote is known as the Electoral College.

The Constitution of the United States prescribes that each State shall "appoint," in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress; but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be an elector. The Constitution requires that the day when electors are chosen shall be the same throughout the United States. At the beginning of our government most of the electors were chosen by the legislatures of their respective States, the people having no direct participation in their choice; and one State, South Carolina, continued that practice down to the breaking out of the Civil War. But in all the States now the electors are, under the direction of State laws, chosen by the people on a general State ticket.

The manner in which the chosen electors meet and ballot for a President and Vice-President of the United States is provided for in Article XII of the Constitution, and is as follows:

"The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall



not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate."

The same article then prescribes the mode in which the Congress shall count the ballots of the electors, and announce the result thereof, which is as follows:

"The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice."

The procedure of the two houses, in case the returns of the election of electors from any State are disputed, is provided in the "Electoral Count" act, passed by the Forty-ninth Congress. The act directs that the Presidential electors shall meet and give their votes on the

second Monday in January next following their election. It fixes the time when Congress shall be in session to count the ballots as the second Wednesday in February succeeding the meeting of the electors.

The Constitution also defines who is eligible for President of the United States, as follows:

"No person except a natural-born citizen or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years."

The qualifications for Vice-President are the same.

#### THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

The following will be the electoral vote of the States in 1908 as based upon the Apportionment act of 1900:

STATES.	Electoral Votes.	STATES.	Electoral Votes.	STATES.	Electoral Votes.
Alabama .....	11	Maryland .....	8	Oregon .....	4
Arkansas .....	9	Massachusetts .....	16	Pennsylvania .....	34
California .....	10	Michigan .....	14	Rhode Island .....	4
Colorado .....	5	Minnesota .....	11	South Carolina .....	8
Connecticut .....	7	Mississippi .....	10	South Dakota .....	4
Delaware .....	3	Missouri .....	18	Tennessee .....	12
Florida .....	5	Montana .....	3	Texas .....	18
Georgia .....	13	Nebraska .....	8	Utah .....	3
Idaho .....	3	Nevada .....	3	Vermont .....	4
Illinois .....	27	New Hampshire .....	4	Virginia .....	12
Indiana .....	15	New Jersey .....	12	Washington .....	5
Iowa .....	13	New York .....	39	West Virginia .....	7
Kansas .....	10	North Carolina .....	12	Wisconsin .....	13
Kentucky .....	13	North Dakota .....	4	Wyoming .....	3
Louisiana .....	9	Ohio .....	23		
Maine .....	6	Oklahoma .....	7	Total .....	483

Electoral votes necessary to a choice ..... 242

Oklahoma has been admitted to the Union since the last Presidential election with seven electoral votes, which are included in the above enumeration. Arizona having at the election of 1906 rejected joint statehood with New Mexico under the permissive act of Congress, neither will attain statehood before the presidential election of 1908.



## CHAPTER IV.

### HOW NATIONAL PRESIDENTIAL CONVENTIONS ARE CONDUCTED.

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#### NATIONAL COMMITTEE MAKES ALL ARRANGEMENTS AND MAPS OUT PROGRAM FOR DELEGATES TO FOLLOW.

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#### THEY'RE COSTLY AFFAIRS.

The average citizen, beyond the knowledge that nominations for President and Vice-President are to be made at national conventions, is probably totally unfamiliar with the machinery that controls them.

In the Coliseum, Chicago, where Taft was nominated there are 11,167 seats and much standing room. The acoustics of the vast hall, which is situated on Wabash Avenue, between Fourteenth and Sixteenth Streets, are good, and there are twelve large exits, consisting of double doors. Six of these open upon a paved alley on the east side and the other six on Wabash Avenue.

A correspondent present at the convention thus writes of it: "The delegates, who number 980, have chairs stretching from the platform out to a line bisecting the main floor east and west, and back of this line, filling the space on the main floor, are the seats for the alternates. Visitors have seats in the rising bank of chairs at the north, east and west edges of the main arena. The seating capacity is much larger than it was at the convention of 1904, when there were only 8,600 chairs."

The Republican and Democratic National Conventions are run in much the same manner, with the exception that in the former a majority of the convention is sufficient to nominate, while in the latter the successful candidate must have a two-thirds majority.

Each party has a National Committee, which has charge of the campaign and continues in authority until succeeded by the action of

the next National Convention, for which it issues the call and makes all arrangements.

The National Committee is made up of one member from each State, and he is usually the party leader. This committee has a vast amount of work to perform. The sergeant-at-arms and all minor officials for the convention are selected by it and it starts its sessions some time before the convention meets.

The National Committee hears the contests for seats in the convention, passes on them and issues the delegate passes and badges to those it considers have the *prima facie* right to seats. A sub-committee distributes the tickets and badges, gets the names and addresses of the delegates and makes up the temporary roll of a convention. This roll, when approved by the National Committee, establishes the right of those seated to participate in the convention until the report of the Credentials Committee is received by the convention and acted upon.

The delegates from the various States and Territories are fixed upon the representation in the National Congress in both the Republican and Democratic conventions. A delegate-at-large is selected for each United States Senator and two delegates for each Congressman to which the State or Territory is entitled.

Each State has its own headquarters at the convention, varying in size from a few hotel rooms to an entire building. Here the delegates will be found when the convention is not in session, and here, too, many of the most important conferences take place.

If a State has a candidate for President or Vice-President its headquarters are, of course, more prominent, and often hundreds of politicians from that particular State make the headquarters their camping ground and assist the boom with bands, fireworks, etc.

At the State headquarters meetings are held and chairmen and honorary vice-presidents are chosen. The latter have seats on the platform, while the chairman usually represents his delegates in all conferences and plays an important part in the dealing before the convention is called to order.

The National Committee is in practical command of the situation up to the time the convention is called to order. It arranges nearly everything from the election of the temporary chairman to the program for the first session. Often, though not in every case, the committee



attends to the program for the entire convention, temporary and permanent organizations. nominating, and platform building.

The chairman of the National Committee calls the convention to order and when he strikes his gavel on the table at noon the great body is in session.

First some prominent clergyman offers a prayer, then comes the reading of the call for the convention by the Secretary of the National Committee. Then the chairman says:

"Gentlemen of the convention, by direction of the National Committee, I nominate Mr. ——— for temporary chairman of the convention."

Should there be no opposition the motion is put and carried. If other candidates are named the roll of the convention is called to determine the temporary officers.

The temporary chairman is generally escorted with much formality to the platform while the band plays and the great crowd cheers heartily.

The temporary chairman then, in an address, outlines the doings of the party, its promises for the future and generally sounds the keynote for the convention. This speech is always submitted to and approved by the party leaders before delivery.

The calling of the roll is one of the longest and most important happenings on the first day. Then comes another important matter—the appointment of various committees.

The Permanent Organization Committee selects and reports to the convention for its sanction the permanent officers. The fact that a majority of the States express favor through the committeemen for the candidates of one faction for permanent officers bears great weight, and as a rule the selections of the committee are indorsed by the convention, although not infrequently a minority report is submitted and the battle is again fought upon the floor of the convention.

The importance of the Resolutions Committee is clearly understood when it is known that the body drafts the party platform. The members of these various committees are selected by the State and Territorial caucuses, which are held at some time prior to the assemblage of the convention, often before the delegation has left its State. The announcements are made by the chairman of the delegations, who are also selected by these caucuses. Immediately after all the committees are named the convention adjourns until the next day.

At the second session of the convention the committees report. The report of the Credentials Committee is first called for. The report of the committee on contested seats often leads to long debates on the floor. When all are decided the permanent roll of the convention is made up and called. Then the Committee on Permanent Organization reports. The permanent chairman is named and escorted to the platform amid vociferous applause.

The permanent chairman's speech is always one of the oratorical features of the convention. Then comes the report of the Committee on Platform, and the usual roll call. There is always the possibility of a fight after this report is made. Certain "planks" may please one State and not another. When the matter of the platform is disposed of the permanent chairman announces another recess, perhaps until the next day or possibly until later that same day.

When the platform is finally adopted then follows the nomination of candidates. The roll of States is called alphabetically for nominations. When a State is reached that has a candidate to present the man who is to deliver the nominating speech steps to the platform. He is followed by others seconding the nomination.

The nominations being made, the roll of States is again called alphabetically and the chairman announces the vote of each delegation. If any member of the delegation challenges the vote, then the secretary of the convention calls a roll of the State and the delegates vote their preference. The first ballot often results in nothing because so many complimentary votes are cast for "favorite sons." Sometimes a choice is made on the second ballot, but not always. When the choice is finally made delegates and spectators let themselves loose in wild enthusiasm.

The nomination for Vice-President is made in precisely the same manner as that of President.

Next a national committee is selected and then follow a number of less important resolutions. A committee is appointed officially to notify the candidates and the convention is a matter of history.

The big conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties usually cost more than \$100,000. The Taft and Bryan conventions in 1908 were each looked after by a sergeant-at-arms, with about 2,000 assistants, 500 ushers and 200 pages.

## INSTANTANEOUS COMMUNICATION.

The telegraph and the telephone put the outside world almost in attendance upon the great political conventions. Seventy-five years ago it took weeks and even months for the news of national conventions to reach the interior of the country. But since 1844, when the telegraph was introduced, electricity has carried news.

At the end of the first day's session at Chicago it became apparent that there is not a more significant illustration of the advance of modern science than was witnessed in the transmission of the news of the national convention to the great dailies of the country and also to the high officials and interested parties. A half century ago it was thought wonderful when the news of conventions was generally flashed over the telegraph wires to large cities only. Then time and space seemed to have been as nearly annihilated in the transmission of news as the wildest dream could suggest. But the telephone and the phonograph have now been brought into requisition; and, before the telegraph can flash the merest outline of the transpiring events, newsgatherers and those fortunate enough to have the proper telephone connection have already heard it, actually as it transpired, over the telephone.

Remarkable as this may seem, it is accounted for by the following arrangement: Hanging ten feet above the heads of the delegates, and immediately in front of the platform, are four black discs, looped by wires and joined by a small central cable leading from the hall. Many have wondered at these discs, believing them to be a part of the system for electrical display. As a matter of fact, they are a combination telephone and phonograph, taking up the proceedings as they occur and transmitting each swell of oratory and each throb of enthusiastic applause.

According to the reports of the two conventions, one of the wires was cut into the White House at Washington and also into Mr. Bryan's home in Lincoln, and the President in person, with the receivers to his ear, caught the words of Lodge as he electrified the vast assemblage and the echoing shouts which ebbed and flowed for full forty-five minutes. Mr. Bryan likewise heard the speeches and the one hour and twenty-six minutes demonstration for himself at Denver, July 10th.



## DENVER'S NEW CONVENTION HALL.

A BIG STONE AND STEEL BUILDING SPECIALLY ERECTED BY DENVER  
FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL ASSEMBLAGE OF 1908.

Denver not only contributed \$100,000 toward paying the expenses of the Democratic National Convention of 1908, but she built the finest convention hall in the West for their use. This convention hall is so unique in its arrangements that some description of it is warranted here.

The first impression the stranger gets from a view of the building is that of permanency. Granite and steel, brick and concrete have been used without stint.

The building, of pale gray brick and granite, is a massive structure, effective in design and with a beauty of its own.

There is an entire absence of tawdry, "gingerbread" effects, and the lines are simple and stately yet graceful and pleasing.

The decorations were more profuse than at Chicago, in a harmonious scheme of national flags and red, white and blue streamers. Masses of flags were placed at appropriate points, while the ceiling was covered with red, white and blue stars, each bearing the name of a State. Large artificial eagles also constituted a part of the decorations.

Over the rostrum was an immense portrait of Washington, with Jefferson on one side and Jackson on the other, while in the middle of the opposite wall, facing the speakers, was another large portrait of the late former President Cleveland.

A large number of incandescent electric lights were used in lighting the hall; the number being considerably more than 3,500, representing a total candle power above 56,000. These are in addition to a system of "ceiling sunbursts," four in number, and each containing eighty 16-candle lamps. A red light indicates the location of each exit.

To the right and left of the rostrum a flight of stairs leads down to the basement, where telegraph instruments and private telephone booths were located. Beneath the rostrum is a tunnel connecting the two divisions of the press section, so that if correspondents have occasion to cross from one side to the other they need not pass between the speaker and the audience. This passage was used also by messengers and pages.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE CONVENTION OF 1908.

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The National Republican party was born fifty-two years ago, when John C. Fremont, of California, was the first candidate nominated by the party for President at the convention in Philadelphia, 1856. Naturally the party did not achieve a victory the first year of its inauguration, but it was victorious the next time; and for forty-eight years, since Lincoln was inaugurated in 1861, it has held the reins of government continuously, with the exception of eight years of Democratic rule under President Grover Cleveland.

The second convention of the Republican party was held at Chicago in 1860, and of the fourteen national conventions which have been held in its history, seven—one-half—of them have convened in the same city, the last being that which nominated William H. Taft and James S. Sherman on June 18 and 19, 1908.

The following is a list of the nominations of the Republican party since its organization and the result of their candidacy:

1856, at Philadelphia—John C. Fremont, California, and William L. Dayton, New Jersey. Defeated.

1860, at Chicago—Abraham Lincoln, Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin, Maine. Elected.

1864, at Baltimore—Abraham Lincoln, Illinois, and Andrew Johnson, Tennessee. Elected.

1868, at Chicago—Ulysses S. Grant, Illinois, and Schuyler Colfax, Indiana. Elected.

1872, at Philadelphia—Ulysses S. Grant, Illinois, and Henry Wilson, Massachusetts. Elected.

1876, at Cincinnati—Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio, and William A. Wheeler, New York. Elected.

1880, at Chicago—James A. Garfield, Ohio, and Chester A. Arthur, New York. Elected.

1884, at Chicago—James G. Blaine, Maine, and John A. Logan, Illinois. Defeated.

1888, at Chicago—Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, and Levi P. Morton, New York. Elected.

1892, at Minneapolis—Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, and White-law Reid, New York. Defeated.

1896, at St. Louis—William McKinley, Ohio, and Garret A. Hobart, New Jersey. Elected.

1900, at Philadelphia—William McKinley, Ohio, and Theodore Roosevelt, New York. Elected.

1904, at Chicago—Theodore Roosevelt, New York, and Charles W. Fairbanks, Indiana. Elected.

1908, at Chicago—William H. Taft, Ohio, and James S. Sherman, New York. ———.

#### THE CONVENTION OF TAFT AND THE CONVENTION OF LINCOLN CONTRASTED.

Before entering upon the description of the Republican Convention held in Chicago in 1908 it will be interesting to refer to that most momentous political gathering in American history, namely: the Republican Convention which met in Chicago on May 16, 1860, and which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President of the United States, and which is thus described:

BY FREDERICK J. HASKIN.

As long as this republic endures, its citizens will praise that convention for its wisdom in selecting Lincoln as its standard-bearer. Yet the convention which nominated Lincoln did so against its will, preferring another man, but bowing to a consideration of expediency. Many of the leaders of the then young party were not only opposed to Lincoln, but were absolutely disgusted when he was nominated. Moreover, the convention probably could not have been induced to accept Lincoln at all if it had not been for the packing of the galleries with Lincoln shouters, who made so much noise that it seemed that the very heavens were crying out for Lincoln.

The discipline of the Republican party was thus early brought



into play. The disgusted partisans of Seward, the angry partisans of Bates, the aristocrats, to whom Lincoln was a most bitter pill—all these left the Chicago wigwam in anger to meet again in harmony at the polling places.

The majority, perhaps two-thirds, of the delegates to the Chicago convention of 1860 favored the nomination of William H. Seward, of New York, for President. This preference was shared by two-thirds of the Republicans of the country. Seward was their leader in the Senate, he was their champion and their pride. But Seward had been long in politics, he had declared that there was a "higher law" than the Constitution, he had spoken of the "irrepressible conflict." Worse even than these, from the standpoint of political expediency, he had been allied with Roman Catholic influences in politics.

In the convention were Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, and Henry S. Lane, of Indiana. They were politicians and good ones, and they accomplished Seward's defeat and Lincoln's nomination. At that time the American party, the Know Nothings, still had great strength in parts of the East and in Indiana. Without their votes the Republicans could not hope to win. In Pennsylvania the Republicans were so timid, and so sagacious, that they had dropped the name "Republican" and Curtin was running for Governor as the nominee of the "People's Party."

#### PULLING THE WIRES FOR FAVORITES.

In 1838 Seward had been elected Governor of New York. It was charged that Archbishop Hughes, an able Catholic prelate, had materially assisted in Seward's election. It was known that Seward had sent a message to the Legislature approving the plan for a division of the public school funds between Catholics and Protestants. In the eyes of a Know Nothing, this attitude on the school question was the one scarlet, unpardonable sin. The State elections in Indiana and Pennsylvania in 1860 were held in October. Curtin and Lane wanted to be elected, and they wanted to elect a Republican President. They knew that if they were beaten in October all hope of Republican success in November would be gone. They had to have that Know Nothing vote and they knew the nomination of Seward would alienate it.

Seward's political manager was Thurlow Weed, the Albany

editor, one of the ablest political manipulators this country has known. He fought for Seward to the last ditch. He went so far as to take a drive with Lane and offer to send enough money into Indiana to insure Lane's election in October if the Hoosier would desert Curtin and support Seward. It is to be doubted if Curtin and Lane could have succeeded in nominating Lincoln against Weed's management and Seward's great popularity if it had not been for Horace Greeley. Greeley had paved the way for the anti-Seward movement by coming out against Seward in the *Tribune*. Greeley said Seward was unavailable, but, of course, the real reason was not revealed at that time. The *Tribune* supported Edward Bates, of Missouri. It could not win for Bates, but it had the effect of helping to destroy Seward.

#### WHOOPING IT UP FOR ABE.

When the convention was assembled, everybody saw there was a great fight on. The Seward managers made a tactical error in having a great Seward street parade. While the Seward people were marching on the streets, the Illinois Lincoln managers—Judd, Swett and others—packed the wigwam to the limit with men whose only instructions were to "Whoop it up for Abe." They did. Seward, the darling of the party, had no friends in the galleries. His name was greeted with silence, but for the few feeble cheers coming only from discouraged delegates. Every mention of Lincoln was cheered to the echo. The clacquers served their purpose and served it well. The practical politicians of the Curtin and Lane stripe convinced the convention that Seward was unavailable. The rooters in the galleries convinced it that Lincoln was the man. The political manager of to-day pays a great deal of attention to the galleries, and he packs them for his candidate, if possible. He has a distinguished precedent.

#### SHORT NOMINATING SPEECHES.

The nominating speech had not attained its modern importance at that time. Seward was placed in nomination by a speech thirty-three words in length, and it required but twenty-five words to place Lincoln before the convention. On the first ballot Seward had 173½ votes and Lincoln 102. The others were cast for Bates, Cameron, Chase and others. On the second ballot Seward gained eleven votes and Lincoln gained seventy-nine. On the third ballot Lincoln went

ahead, having 231½ to Seward's 180. Then Ohio changed four votes from Chase to Lincoln and gave him the necessary majority. The packed galleries cheered and cheered until they were exhausted. Joseph Medill, the Chicago editor and leader of the Lincoln forces, rejoiced with his compatriots and with Lane and Curtin.

Thurlow Weed was disgusted and heartily sick. He refused to suggest a man for Vice-President when a tender of that privilege was made to the Seward forces. Hannibal Hamlin was nominated on the second ballot over Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky. The Seward men were not only sore in defeat, but they were ashamed of their party's newly selected leader. They measured him by the mud on his brogans, and it was as if they had essayed to measure the walls of space with a foot rule.

#### A LIVELY, FUN-LOVING BODY.

The convention itself was very like the last Republican convention in Chicago in 1908. Its organization was not so perfect, admission to the hall was easier to gain, and the convention did not have such a sense of self-importance as it has to-day. The first business it transacted was to accept an invitation to take an excursion on the lake, which acceptance was afterward reconsidered. The convention thought it necessary to adjourn one evening because the hall had been previously engaged for an exhibition drill by a Zouave company.

It was a lively, fun-loving body. Horace Greeley was present as a delegate from the then almost inaccessible State of Oregon and the delegates twitted him as the "gentleman from Oregon." All the free States were represented and there were delegations from five of the slave States—Kentucky, Missouri, Delaware, Texas and Virginia. Only those States present were read out on the first roll call. A delegate asked for a full roll call and the names of Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, South and North Carolina and Florida were called, while the delegates laughed, groaned, jeered and hissed. There was a great fight on the report of the Committee on Credentials, the question being whether the slave States present were entitled to a full vote in the convention. Then began the wrangle over the Southern States delegations which has continued through every Republican convention from that day until this. The reason for the wrangling is seldom the same, but the wrangle is a regular quadrennial affair.



## FIGHT OVER THE PLATFORM.

The convention had a fight over the platform, once actually voted down a proposition to reassert the truths proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence, and was never unanimous on any question. The platform declared against the extension of slave territory, specifically declared that it was the right of States to control their own local institutions without interference, and denounced the armed invasion of a State upon any pretext whatever as "the gravest of crimes." This was a reference to John Brown's raid. The Republican party of 1860 knew full well that it could not countenance the attitude of the extreme abolitionists. It was its purpose to free the slaves in the South; it looked only to the issue of the moment, the prevention of the extension of slavery to the Territories and to new States.

To-day it is easy to see that the attitude of the people of the North which made the organization of the Republican party possible was essentially an anti-slavery attitude. It was not so apparent at that time, as the careful utterances of the early Republican leaders give testimony. However, when the Republican convention in the Chicago wigwam chose Abraham Lincoln as their nominee for President they knew they had selected a man who had said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." Later he wrote to Horace Greeley that if he could save the Union by freeing the slaves, he would do it; that if he could save the Union by not freeing the slaves, he would not free them; that it was his purpose to save the Union. He did, and for that service not only the Republican party which he led, but every man, woman and child who owns to the name of American, calls him blessed.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION IN 1908.

It was a very different body meeting under very different circumstances from that which Mr. Haskin describes above that nominated William H. Taft for President of the United States forty-eight years, one month and two days after the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President. Chicago was then a small city, not one-quarter its present mammoth size. The Republican party was then also small and even considered mean in the estimation of some

of its adherents. As Mr. Haskin has said, Governor Curtin, who ran on its principles as Governor for Pennsylvania, had the name of his party changed to the "People's Party." Was he ashamed of being called a Republican? Since that day both the city of Chicago and the Republican party, like John Brown's spirit, have gone marching on. Chicago to-day stands forth as the magic city of the earth. It is the greatest railroad center in the world, and with its two million inhabitants the fourth city of the globe in point of population.

Under the Republican party the United States has moved forward from the position of an inferior power—with a government regarded as a dangerous experiment, sneered and scoffed at by the monarchs of Europe—to the recognized supremacy among the nations of the earth, with a commerce the greatest, with education the most universal, with a people the freest, with labor the best paid; and, in all respects, industrial, commercial, social, and political, the leading nation among all the great powers, looked up to by the weak as their defender, courted and patronized by the strongest, who all seek her alliance and friendship. There is no question to-day but that the United States of America is the world power. And for the glory of it the Republican party, which has been in control during its marvelous progress, claims the honor.

It was with a feeling of pride and confidence, suggested in the above paragraph, that the fourteenth Republican National Convention was called to order on the afternoon of June 16, 1908, by Harry S. New, the national chairman.

The convention met in the Coliseum, the same hall where Roosevelt was nominated in 1904. But, anticipating the large attendance, the seating capacity of 1904 was increased from less than 9,000 to over 11,000 for 1908.

That the gathering was not to be as peaceful as had been intimated was evidenced in the eleventh-hour decision of the administration to sidetrack, temporarily, the Vice-Presidential question.

The talk of a stampede to Roosevelt, and the opposition to the anti-injunction plank in the platform caused the Taft managers to adopt methods of precaution.

The fight on the anti-injunction plank promised to be the most serious struggle of the convention.

Speaker Cannon and his followers were hot against it, and the Taft men equally determined it should remain.

#### THE DOORS OPENED.

The doors of the cavernous convention hall were thrown open at 10.30 o'clock, and the first of the visitors, delegates and alternates began to filter in. High up in the girders of the great arching roof a band struck up "America," and the first scene of the 1908 gathering was under way.

The decorative scheme in the hall was purely a patriotic one, with gracefully draped flags predominating. The decorations were not overdone, being confined practically entirely to the balcony and stage. The floor showed only the delegate seats and the State standards—white bits of cardboard at the top of slender iron posts arising some eight feet from the floor.

Women were largely represented in the first of the arriving throngs, and took a lively interest in the incidents of the opening.

The band created great enthusiasm by playing patriotic airs, "Dixie" calling out the first ripple of applause. Then came "The Red, White and Blue," and in the excitement of the occasion the crowd rose to its feet. The move was but a little previous, however, for the strains of "The Star-Spangled Banner" were soon wafted from the balcony and there was an outburst of applause and cheering.

#### ARRANGEMENT OF SEATS.

In locating the delegations in the body of the convention hall, Ohio was given the front of the stage as compared to all others who had candidates. The men from the home State of the Secretary of War were placed immediately in front of the speaker's rostrum and on the right of that official as he faced the convention. Directly across the aisle was Indiana, on the right of the Hoosiers was Illinois and just beyond was Wisconsin.

In the front row on the opposite side of the hall to the left of Ohio was Pennsylvania, and on the extreme left came New York. Directly behind Ohio were Minnesota, Connecticut, Colorado and Maine, Nebraska and Michigan. Still further to the rear were Oregon, Georgia, Idaho, North Dakota and Vermont. On the right of the hall were placed the Territories—Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines.



Crowded close upon the seats of the Illinois men were Maryland, Arkansas, Florida and Iowa. The last of all was placed Oklahoma, her standard being further to the rear than that of any of the States to the left of the hall, and on a line with the Territories on the right.

Fifteen minutes before the hour set for calling the convention to order the delegate sections were not half filled, but the music of marching bands in the street poured into the hall, and the parading hosts were at hand. Fairly overwhelming the large and efficient corps of doorkeepers and ushers, the delegates from a score of States crowded into their places.

#### DIPLOMATS ARRIVE.

The notable guests on the speakers' platform were slow in arriving. The first to appear were Ambassador and Madame Jusserand, of France, who soon were followed by other members of the Diplomatic Corps, to whom President Roosevelt had allotted twenty-five seats. Mrs. Nicholas Longworth and Mrs. Timothy L. Woodruff also occupied conspicuous places on the platform.

It was nearly twelve o'clock when Ambassador and Mrs. Bryce, of Great Britain, reached the hall. Both Ambassadors and their wives were the recipients of much attention. Conspicuous among the diplomats was Minister Wu Ting-fang, of China.

Among the other distinguished people on the platform were Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Gary, of New York; Dan Ransdell, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate; Mrs. Frank O. Lowden and the Right Rev. F. J. Muldoon, Bishop of Chicago; Mrs. Julius C. Burrows, Mrs. Medill McCormick, of Chicago; the Rev. Dr. John Wesley Hill and wife, Chicago; Dr. Albert Shaw, former Secretary of the Treasury Leslie M. Shaw, Mr. and Mrs. Donald McLean, of New York.

#### COMMENTS OF FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES.

The manner in which the convention struck these visitors is illustrated by the following remarks, which were gathered from them at the close of the first day's proceedings:

"I never saw anything quite like it," said James Bryce, Ambassador from Great Britain, "and I must say it was a most impressive affair. We have nothing like it in England, and I do not know of any country that has. I was interested every moment. I look forward to the rest of the convention with a great deal of interest."

Mr. Bryce, who is most careful of his speech, was enthusiastic in talking of the convention to his fellow-diplomats, asserting that to a student of government the trouble of a trip half way across the continent was but slight cost.

Not less enthusiastic was J. J. Jusserand, Ambassador from France.

"It is fine, it is splendid!" he exclaimed, as he watched the delegates rise to their feet and cheer when the name of the President was mentioned by Senator Burrows. "We have nothing like it in France. My comment would be commonplace, because it is praise. I have never seen a convention of American delegates before, although I have heard of them. This surpasses my expectations. It is grand. The men are all so interested. They are so keen and bright. They know just what they are here for and they waste no time doing it.

"One is amazed at the remarkable good feeling. One cannot help being astounded at the orderly fashion in which everything is carried out. No one makes any trouble; all are in perfect accord. Perhaps you are not quite so emotional, so demonstrative, we will say, as we in France might be, but that may be because you have not yet begun to make nominations. It is very impressive, though. It reflects well upon American political methods."

Wu Ting-fang stood up during part of the proceedings and exhibited profound interest in all that was done.

"What do you think of America's methods of nominating candidates?" was asked of him.

"Oh, it is interesting," he replied. "Where do so many men come from and how do they all get here?"

After being fully advised, the Chinese Minister pursued his quest for knowledge.

"How long does it take to nominate President Roosevelt?" he asked. "Why don't they have conventions in Washington? What makes so many American men bald headed so young?"

Complete information was furnished.

"How can so many men from different States ever agree on one man?" he asked.

On being told that that was something which President Roosevelt is attending to on this particular occasion, he remarked:

"Your President is a great man."

"I should think from what I saw to-day," said Mr. Coro-Milas, Minister from Greece, "that the convention later will be most interesting. I was told to-day that it had only begun, but it was fine."

Colonel James, Military Attaché of the British Embassy, declared he never saw anything like it.

"We do not have conventions of this kind at home, you know," he said. "It is therefore novel to us and very interesting."

#### DEMOCRATS IN CAMP.

The foreign ambassadors and diplomats were not alone in the "outside" representation present. Prominent Democrats were there taking note. They had arrived the day before and were everywhere present, not to say intrusive, in their interesting investigations.

While the Committee on Credentials marked time in the Coliseum Annex, there was a storm of commotion when a squad of prominent Democrats marched up the stairs.

The party included Thomas Taggart, of Indianapolis, Democratic National Committeeman; Norman E. Mack, of Buffalo; Roger C. Sullivan, of Illinois, and Charles Boeschstein, chairman of the Illinois Democratic State Central Committee.

"Come in to surrender to Taft?" queried Frank H. Hitchcock, who was among those standing in the corridors.

"Nope," returned Mr. Taggart, "we simply wanted to look over that steam-roller which has been operated so successfully in these parts."

"That machine is awaiting a run before the Credentials Committee," asserted Mayor F. C. Bryan, of Washington, of counsel for the "Allies." "Sorry we can't accommodate you. We wish you had arrived earlier and kidnapped the whole apparatus."

"Well, then, we'll take a look at the Convention Hall as a compromise," said Sullivan, "and the features of convenience there observed will be followed in arranging the hall for the big Democratic pow-wow in July."

#### CONVENTION CALLED TO ORDER.

The tap of the chairman's gavel fell at 12.18 o'clock, but it was some little time before the desired quiet in the hall was secured. Part of the delay was due to the timely arrival of a delayed portion of the



Ohio delegation, bearing a big blue satin banner, with a picture of Secretary Taft lithographed in colors upon it. There was cheering for a time, and then the band struck up "Hail to the Chief." The demonstration was not a sustained one.

Charles P. Taft was one of the Ohio contingent, and with former Governor Herrick had seats near the center aisle. Just across from them was the Indiana delegation, with Senator Hemenway in the aisle. Thus the Taft and Fairbanks booms were brought into close proximity.

The Taft banner was not allowed to remain in the hall, and was taken unostentatiously to one of the side rooms.

Chairman New's first utterance was: "The secretary will make an announcement." Instantly John Malloy, of Ohio, who has a marvelously strong voice, stepped to the front and informed the convention that a flashlight was about to be taken, and urged that all remain quietly in their seats, as there would be no danger. He indicated the point of the convention hall at which the camera was located, and as it was in the rear of the hall, the delegates made a scramble to get into the picture with their faces instead of their backs.

After the photograph had been taken Mr. New addressed the convention as follows:

"The hour has arrived for the representatives of the Republican party to meet in its fourteenth National Convention at the end of almost twelve consecutive years of the most brilliant administration in the history of the world. There are those present in this audience to-day who participated in the party's first convention, and the accomplishments of that party within so brief a span as the life of men yet living are almost beyond belief.

"We are here to assert our pride in what has been done, to approve the achievements of the past, and more especially to commend and endorse the administration of Theodore Roosevelt and those policies which under his splendid administration have become known to the people of this land as the policies of the 'square deal.' "

#### CHEERS FOR ROOSEVELT.

The chairman's mention of the name of President Roosevelt was greeted with an outburst of cheers which, however, continued but for a few seconds.

Mr. New introduced Bishop Muldoon, of Chicago, who recited with a clear, resonant voice, the Lord's prayer.

Malloy again advanced to the front and read the call for the convention. As he finished he was greeted with applause, more for the manner in which he had delivered his message to the convention than for any interest excited by the document itself.

Malloy's pronunciation of Hawaii during the reading of the call caused some merriment. He called it "Haw-waw" and every time he said it the delegates expressed their approval by laughter and a ripple of applause.

Chairman New announced that the National Committee had recommended Senator J. C. Burrows, of Michigan, for temporary chairman.

A cheer came from the Michigan delegation, in the midst of which Mr. New recognized Representative M. E. Olmsted, of Pennsylvania, who moved that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

John W. Blodgett, chairman of the Michigan delegation, seconded the motion, and it was unanimously adopted. Senator Burrows was warmly received as he stepped to the front of the platform extension arranged for the use of the speakers. He bowed his acknowledgments and began his "keynote" address at just 12.34 P. M.

He had been speaking about six minutes when he came to the first mention of President Roosevelt.

#### STUMPED BY ROOSEVELT.

Senator Burrows evidently felt just a little excited over the mention of the President, for he had some little difficulty in pronouncing the well-known name. He was referring to the convention of four years ago, "when," he said, "invoking a continuance of public favor, the party placed in nomination for the office of President of the United States, Theo-Belt—" "The-a-rose."

The Senator stopped, mumbled a moment and said:

"Theore—" Again he stopped and in the growing of applause of those who recognized for whom the name was intended, he shouted: "Theodore Roosevelt."

At once a demonstration began. Several of the delegates jumped upon chairs and waved their hats, calling upon others to do

likewise. North Carolina, Texas, West Virginia and Alabama led the cheering, while the applause was general on the floor and in the gallery.

The cheering lasted nearly two minutes. Senator Burrows in resuming mentioned Fairbanks's name and there was a round of applause.

The name of Abraham Lincoln was received with general, but brief, handclapping.

Reference to Secretary of State Root brought a cheer which was emphasized by a friendly demonstration in the New York delegation.

Applause greeted the utterances approving President Roosevelt's policy in relation to public lands and additional handclapping followed the Senator's expressed regret that the ship subsidy had failed. The mention of Elihu Root as "that matchless Secretary of State" brought the New Yorkers to their feet with cheers and waving flags and handkerchiefs.

The delegates of Ohio and Maine led in the applause following that portion of the address which favored the establishment of a merchant marine, and the praise given to the management of the insular possessions was heartily appreciated by the convention as a whole.

#### REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED.

##### THE KEYNOTE OF THE CAMPAIGN SOUNDED.

Senator Julius Cæsar Burrows, of Michigan, Temporary Chairman of the Republican National Convention, spoke as follows:

"Another chapter in our national history under Republican administration is soon to be concluded, and, conforming to party usage long established, this convention of 980 delegates and their alternates, chosen by the Republican electorate from every State and Territory within the confines of the Republic, meets in this high council to submit the record of its achievements to the critical review of the American people and make fresh avowal of its faith in the principles and policies of the Republican party.

"Four years ago the Republican party in national convention submitted the record of its achievements to the American people, announced its policies for the future, and, invoking continuance of public



favor, placed in nomination for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks, who were elected and the platform approved by a popular vote of 7,623,485, a record unexampled in the history of political parties since the foundation of the government, receiving the indorsement of thirty-two States out of the forty-five, with but thirteen in opposition.

"In view of this indorsement it became pertinent and opportune to inquire, What has the Republican party done in the last four years of governmental control—in many respects the most remarkable and brilliant in the history of the party and the country—to forfeit public confidence or create distrust in its capacity for future administration? Although some untoward and unforeseen conditions have beset the Republic during the last four years, yet these have been met and overcome with alacrity and courage, and the country has marched steadily onward in its matchless course of industrial triumphs. The wise and beneficent legislation of the Republican party during the long years of its ascendancy and administration of national affairs laid the foundation for the public weal so securely that no disquieting condition, not even a temporary panic, which necessarily touches the mainspring of all industrial life, could arrest the country's resistless advance.

#### PERIOD OF PROSPERITY.

"Since the last national Republican convention, four years ago, our population has increased from 81,500,000 to 87,500,000, while 4,000,000 of immigrants from every quarter of the globe have found welcome to our shores and protection under our flag.

"During the last four years our flocks and herds have increased in value from \$2,998,000,000 to \$4,331,000,000.

"The value of our farm products from \$5,917,000,000 to \$7,412,000,000.

"The output of coal from 314,000,000 tons to 420,000,000.

"Our product of gold from \$74,000,000 to \$90,000,000.

"The accumulation in savings banks of \$2,815,000,000 in 1903 was augmented to \$3,495,000,000 in 1907.

"The deposits in all banks in 1903, aggregating \$9,553,000,000, reached the fabulous sum of \$13,000,000,000 in 1907, an increase of \$3,546,000,000 in four years.

"Two millions of spindles in our cotton mills were added, and



WILLIAM H. TAFT AND HIS FAMILY IN THEIR WASHINGTON HOME.

Heading from left to right: Helen Taft, Charles Taft, Mrs. Taft, Robert Taft, William H. Taft.



**WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT**  
In his office in the War Department, Washington.



the domestic cotton used in our factories in 1907 amounted to over 5,000,000 bales, as against 3,924,000 bales in 1903.

"The importations of raw silk to supply our mills increased from a little over 15,000,000 pounds in 1903 to nearly 19,000,000 pounds in 1907.

"In spite of the disquieting conditions incident to the regulation of rates on interstate railroads, 20,000 miles of new trackage have been added in the past four years.

"The tonnage of vessels passing through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal has increased from 28,000,000 in 1903 to 44,000,000 in 1907.

"The output of pig iron, the barometer of trade, in 1907 was 25,781,000 tons, as against a little over 18,000,000 tons in 1903, and our exports of iron and steel increased from \$96,642,000 in 1903 to \$181,531,000 in 1907.

"The cotton fabrics wrought in American mills from our domestic fibre consumed in 1903 3,924,000 bales, while in 1907 they required more than 5,000,000.

"Our exports of manufactures advanced from \$468,000,000 in 1903 to \$740,000,000 in 1907.

"Our imports of raw material for use in domestic manufacture increased from \$330,000,000 in 1903 to \$477,000,000 in 1907, while our exports in the calendar year of 1907 were nearly \$2,000,000,000, an increase of 30 per cent over those of four years ago.

#### INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS.

"The mills and factories temporarily closed by reason of financial disturbances are rapidly resuming operations, calling labor back to profitable employment.

"This record of material activity in field and forest, factory and farm, mines and mills during the last four years might be indefinitely extended, but this is quite sufficient to show the development and robust condition of our industrial life.

"The nine great executive departments of the government, through which the head of the nation speaks and acts, have advanced with steady and resolute steps within the sphere of their activities, presenting a record of achievements during the last four years of intelligent and progressive administration unexampled in the history of the government.

"It is within bounds to say that no previous sessions of Congress have displayed a more active or intelligent interest in the needs of the wage-earners than the past three sessions, nor has there heretofore in the same length of time been as much important and progressive legislation in the interests of this class of our fellow-citizens.

"The work of reorganizing and promoting the efficiency of the army has gone steadily forward until we have a military force not only sufficient to maintain peace within our own borders, but capable of resisting any possible force that could be sent against us. The establishment of a general staff of the army has made action by it more prompt and effective than ever before, and has served to give to the policy of improvement in the army a prominent character.

"Most important progress has been made in the development of the national militia as an aid to the regular army of the United States. By well-directed legislation and by the activity of the proper bureaus of the War Department, for the first time in the history of the country adequate steps are being taken to bring about an approximation of armament, equipment and discipline of the militia to those of the regular army. The importance of this development for national defense cannot be overestimated.

"Another and most remarkable instance of the efficiency of the army has been the work done by it during the year of its stay in Cuba as a force for the maintenance of the tranquillization of that island. Not a single report of any abuse by officer or man has reached the department during the entire time.

#### INSULAR POSSESSIONS.

"The management of our outlying possessions under Republican administration has been attended with remarkable success. Under American occupation and control the commerce of the island of Porto Rico, which in the most prosperous days of Spanish rule aggregated but \$22,000,000, was, in 1907, \$56,000,000. The production of sugar has advanced from 109,000 tons to 204,000 tons, valued at \$15,000,000.

"When we took possession of the island there was but one school building owned by the government. Now there are over eighty, built and under construction, and the number of pupils in the public schools is 70,000. Peace and order prevail throughout the island, and a representative is accorded to the United States.

"In the Philippine Islands the people have been given a legislative body, the full power of conducting their own municipal and provincial governments, the establishment of their own tariff system, the direction of the postal service, and indeed greater rights and powers than those possessed by any other people subject to our sovereignty.

"A sound and reliable currency system has been established, schools so enlarged that the number of primary schools now aggregate between 3,000 and 4,000, with a total enrolment in March last of 479,978. Post offices have been established throughout the archipelago, a free delivery service in the city of Manila, practically 10,000 miles of telegraph and cable lines are in operation, and several hundred miles of new railway are under construction or contract, while less than 10 per cent of the government employees and municipal officers are Americans, and of the police and constabulary force 98 per cent are Filipinos.

"The work of civilizing and uplifting the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands has gone forward with remarkable progress.

"Our navy has been strengthened until to-day we hold a second place among the naval powers in the world, and our fleet of battle-ships rides triumphantly around the globe, receiving the friendly salutations of the nations, conveying peace and good will to all the people.

#### REVISION OF THE TARIFF.

"The Republican party stands for a revision and readjustment of our customs laws as changed industrial conditions at home and abroad may have made necessary, keeping steadily in view the cardinal principles of protection to American industries and American labor.

"In this connection it can be safely promised that whatever revision or readjustment takes place under the control of the Republican party, it will give just and adequate protection to American industries and American labor and defend the American market against unjust and unequal aggressions, from whatever quarter they may come.

"Our recent financial disturbance challenged the soundness of our monetary condition and brought to the fore the question of our banking and currency system, the consideration of which became and continues to be a subject of pressing and commanding importance.

"The recent panic called the attention of Congress to the necessity



of further legislation, and a measure has been passed providing for an emergency currency of \$500,000,000 to be issued under certain conditions and limitations, an authorization, it is believed, which will prevent the recurrence of any such disaster as befell the country last fall.

"In the meantime, however, the Republican party is not indifferent to the necessity of further and comprehensive revision of our monetary and banking system, and to that end the Congress just closed authorized the creation of a monetary commission, composed of eighteen members of the two houses of Congress, clothed with power to inquire into and report to Congress at the earliest date practicable what changes are necessary or desirable in the monetary system of the United States or in the laws relating to banking and currency.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS.

"In the broader field of the world's drama, where the nations are actors, our country has taken a conspicuous and commanding part. Having become a world power, our influence is world-wide and always exerted in the interest of peace and the betterment of mankind.

"The crowning act in this drama was that in which the President himself took the initiative, halted the armies of Russia and Japan, bringing about an honorable, and, it is to be hoped, enduring peace.

"Yet nothing has added so much to his just fame as his persistent and irrevocable refusal to break the unwritten law of the republic by accepting a nomination for a third term. By this act of self-abnegation he places his name and fame in the secure keeping of history by the side of that of the immortal Washington.

"With this splendid record of the last four years in the management of our domestic and foreign affairs, backed by the history of nearly half a century of Republican policies, the public mind must rest in the conviction that the continued ascendancy of the Republican party will best promote the interest of the people and advance the glory and stability of the republic.

"The Republican party confidently submits its record to the approving judgment of the American people and, upon its renewed declaration of faith, invokes continuance of public favor."

#### TEMPORARY OFFICERS APPROVED.

When the applause and music following the conclusion of the temporary chairman's address had subsided, the list of temporary

officers recommended by the National Committee was read by Lafayette B. Gleason, of New York, chief assistant secretary. An old-fashioned "Rebel yell" from Kentucky greeted the mention of an appointee from that State. On motion of Charles H. Clark, of Connecticut, the list was approved.

Representative Payne, of New York, was recognized to offer a resolution that until permanently organized the convention be guided by the rules of the last national Republican assemblage. It was adopted.

Senator Chester I. Long presented and moved the adoption of a resolution directing that the roll of States be called for the presentation of the names of the men selected for the various committees. The resolution was unanimously adopted and the roll call began.

"Alabama," called the clerk, but Alabama could not respond, having no list at hand, their one copy having been filed with the clerk of the convention. The plan of having the names of committeemen read from the delegations was then abandoned and the membership of all the committees was called by the clerk.

#### LOUISIANA OUT OF COMMITTEES.

The reading of the list of names did not appeal to either spectators or delegates and they commenced to leave. No names were submitted from Georgia beyond that of the name for the Credentials Committee because of contests in that State.

Indiana had been reached when Senator Lodge moved that further reading be dispensed with and that the lists be handed in to the secretary. The motion was carried and the reading ceased.

Senator Lodge's resolution was carried with reference to all the States save Louisiana, whose interest had been temporarily passed over and both delegations seated. It was reported that Louisiana had submitted two lists, but Chairman Burrows announced an agreement had been reached whereby the Louisiana delegations had agreed that they would forego representation on the standing committees.

Secretary Malloy announced that the committees selected would meet as soon as possible after the adjournment of the convention. He declared that it would not be necessary for the Committee on Credentials to leave the hall, as lunch had been provided in the Coliseum.

## BURKE'S REPRESENTATION PLAN.

The following motion was submitted by J. Francis Burke, of Pennsylvania, who requested that it be referred to the Committee on Rules:

*"Resolved*, That the basis of representation in the Republican National Convention hereafter shall be as follows:

"Each State shall be entitled to four delegates-at-large and one additional delegate for each 10,000 votes or majority fraction thereof cast at the last preceding Presidential election for Republican electors, and two delegates from each Territory, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Alaska, Porto Rico and the Philippines, and that methods necessary for the enforcement of this rule shall be provided by the Republican National Committee chosen by the delegates of this convention."

On motion of Senator du Pont the convention at 2.03 P. M. adjourned until 12 o'clock next day.

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## THE SECOND DAY OF THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

At 12.19 Senator Burrows brought down his gavel and announced in a voice inaudible less than ten feet distant:

"The invocation will be by the Rev. William O. Waters, of Chicago."

Mr. Waters, a young and athletic looking clergyman, read his prayer. His voice, one of the best yet heard in the convention, was heard throughout the hall, and he was followed with deep attention. As he closed with the Lord's Prayer many of the delegates followed him.

## CREDENTIALS REPORT READY.

Harry Daugherty, of Ohio, from the Committee on Credentials, asked for recognition as soon as the prayer was ended. He announced that the committee had been in continuous session throughout the night, had completed its work and would be able to present its report to the convention within an hour. There was no possibility of transacting business until the report was presented and the convention settled down to await its arrival.



The Knox adherents, after taking their seats, opened and distributed a bundle of small flags of dark blue bearing the words "Key-stone State" in white letters. They waved them briskly for a few seconds, just to let the Ohio men next to them know that they, too, were prepared for eventualities.

#### PARTY GRAYBEARDS CHEERED.

Chairman Burrows interrupted the regular order of business to introduce to the convention Henry Baker, of Minnesota, and James D. Conner, of Indiana, two gray-bearded veterans of the party, who were delegates to the first Republican convention in 1856. Messrs. Baker and Conner were greeted with continuous rounds of applause as they stepped to the front of the platform and bowed their acknowledgments.

It was next announced that while waiting for the report of the Committee on Credentials there would be a parade through the hall of visiting and local marching clubs. On motion of Mr. Warden, of Michigan, the convention invited to a place on the platform A. G. Proctor, of St. Joseph, Mich., who was a delegate to the Lincoln convention in Chicago forty-eight years ago.

#### PHILADELPHIA LEADS MARCH.

As Secretary Malloy concluded his announcement of the Warden resolution the tap of drums was heard outside the hall, the east door opened and in came the band heading the parade. It halted in front of the speaker's stand for an instant playing "America."

Numerous other Pennsylvania clubs followed cheering for Knox. The last club wore tall white hats and carried small American flags. Their appearance produced frenzy in the Ohio delegation. Instantly every man was on his feet, the red flags tossed up and cheer after cheer rang through the hall. The blue banner, with the face of Secretary Taft upon it, produced another outburst, and the Ohio men screamed and danced about while the band in the gallery struck up "Hail to the Chief," which it, by some coincidence, played every time the blue banner was flung to the air.

Still other bands and clubs came roaring through the doorway and thundering through the mighty auditorium, many of them declaring their partisanship by bursting out into a song, more or less melodiously rendered, the burden of which was "I Yell for William Taft."

The demonstration of the marching clubs continued until 1.15 P. M., when the convention resumed its more serious work.

#### TAFT CONTESTANTS QUICKLY SEATED.

Senator C. W. Fulton, of Oregon, chairman of the Credentials Committee, stepped to the platform and presented the report and permanent roll of the convention. It was adopted in quick order, with only a few scattering "noes" to be heard after the storm of "ayes" that followed the putting of the question.

"Your Committee on Credentials," said Senator Fulton, "met immediately after adjournment yesterday and after fully hearing and carefully considering all the cases that came before it, reached the opinion that all delegates placed on the temporary roll by the National Committee are in each instance entitled to their seats."

Cheering interrupted the speaker.

"In addition," said Senator Fulton, "the committee has seated all three of the contesting delegations from New Mexico with one-third vote each."

The report was adopted and there was no attempt at debate.

#### LODGE TAKES THE CHAIR.

The report of the Committee on Permanent Organization was then presented by Chairman Charles F. Brooker, of Connecticut. The announcement that Senator Henry Cabot Lodge had been chosen for permanent chairman called out applause, especially from the Massachusetts delegation. The report, save in this particular, made permanent the temporary officers. It was adopted unanimously.

The chairman then announced:

"I appoint General Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, and Governor Charles I. Deneen, of Illinois, a committee to escort the permanent chairman to the platform."

General Woodford mounted the rostrum first, followed closely by Senator Lodge, Governor Deneen bringing up the rear. Renewed applause greeted their appearance, and, after the two chairmen had bowed and shaken hands, Senator Burrows, advancing to the front of the platform, said:

"Gentlemen of the convention, I have the honor to introduce to you as your permanent chairman Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts."

## LODGE IN COMMAND—AROUSES PARTY PRIDE.

As Senator Lodge stepped forward to the speakers' table, manuscript in hand, he was loudly cheered. In a voice which carried clearly to the furthestmost corners of the immense auditorium, he began at 1.25 o'clock by thanking the delegates for the honor of his selection to preside permanently over the deliberations of the convention.

The address had a welcome touch of campaign atmosphere about it and the cheers were not long in breaking forth in frequent and constantly increasing enthusiasm. Senator Lodge's drawing of contrasts between the Republican and Democratic parties particularly pleased the delegates. He declared amid laughter and cheers that the great object of the Democrats was to keep their past a dark history, while the Republicans were anxious to publish theirs to the world.

"If we refer to their past," he declared, "they accuse us of calumny."

There was much laughter and cheering at this, which was renewed when he said, "The Democrats now could only appeal, 'Judge us on our undiscovered future.' We say," he continued, "read our record and judge us there."

Turning from his taunting of the Democrats, Senator Lodge seriously discussed the record of achievements under Republican administrations of recent years, and it was in this connection that he first mentioned the President—not by name, but by the office. "The President has fearlessly enforced the laws as he found them upon the statute books." Cheers came from many quarters of the hall at this, but their duration was short, and Senator Lodge hastened to resume. In a few minutes he came again to the President with the declaration that in enforcing the law the bayonets of duty must hurt somebody.

"And the result," he went on, "is that the President is the best abused and most popular man in the United States to-day."

## ROOSEVELT DEMONSTRATION ON.

At this the first real demonstration broke loose. For a time the cheering appeared desultory, but, after a minute or two, some of the delegates from the Territories jumped to their chairs and a great roar burst from all over the hall. As the cheers broke forth, Senator Lodge remarked to friends on the platform:



"They said there was no Roosevelt feeling in this convention, but I will show them that there is." He exhibited every sign of pleasure at the demonstration.

#### PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER SMILES.

Senator Lodge made several attempts to continue his speech, but each time the cheering broke out afresh, and he finally gave up the idea, and walked slowly back and forth, a pleased expression on his face, waiting for the uproar to cease.

Representative Nicholas Longworth, son-in-law of the President, and his wife, sat watching the spectacle with smiling countenances, but neither participated.

The convention band added to the din from time to time, playing "The Star-Spangled Banner" and other patriotic selections. "A Hot Time in the Old Town To-night" caught a quick response from the crowd.

After the demonstration had continued for half an hour Senator Lodge again attempted to proceed with his speech, but the raps of his gavel simply added fuel to the flames, and the enthusiastic throngs showed no disposition to relinquish their share in the noise and excitement.

Frank H. Hitchcock, manager for Taft, was on the convention floor during the demonstration for Roosevelt. He expressed pleasure at the uproar and said:

"It shows how popular the administration is, particularly how President Roosevelt stands with the people. I am glad of this. It will help Taft, for he is President Roosevelt's choice as his successor."

#### TEDDY BEAR HURLED ABOUT.

An enormous "Teddy bear" dragged up into the press seats and held aloft by a group of yelling enthusiasts brought out frantic screams of delight.

Shortly after the disappearance of the bear sharp hisses broke out on the floor against the persistent disturbers in the gallery. Both sides were persistent, but a yell is louder than a hiss and the delegates were soon overwhelmed. The galleries weakened and again the hissing broke out, only to be met by a renewed and vociferous outburst from the galleries, and again the delegates, anxious to continue their work, were put into eclipse.

Senator Lodge, after another long wait, attempted to be heard. "Gentlemen," he said, "as I was trying to say when I was interrupted—"

The cheering drowned his voice again and his gavel could scarcely be heard. Determined to proceed in spite of the refusal of the gallery crowd to follow the example of the delegates in restoring order, Senator Lodge, in the midst of desultory cheering, resumed his address.

The demonstration had proceeded unchecked for forty-eight minutes.

#### CHEERS FOR THE COURTS.

The statement, "We believe in the support of the courts in all their dignity," caused additional applause, as did the declaration in favor of protection.

As Senator Lodge concluded, he was cheered to the echo, several men pressing eagerly forward to extend congratulations for his address and the manner in which it had been given to the convention.

Chairman Lodge called for the report of the Committee on Rules, but it was not forthcoming, and he directed that the names of the newly chosen members of the National Committee, and of the honorary vice-presidents be read to the convention. This was done, many of the spectators leaving the hall while the reading was in progress.

Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, moved that the National Committee be empowered to fill vacancies occurring on the committee. This brought out an amendment from a Michigan delegate, that the State Committee of the respective States be empowered to fill vacancies on the National Committee, should they occur. The amendment was accepted by Mr. Clayton, and the motion adopted.

#### FIGHT ON BURKE'S RULE BEGINS.

The report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business was presented by Senator Warren, of Wyoming, chairman. He announced that, with only a few changes, the rules of the last National Republican Convention were adopted. These changes provide for a grouping of Arizona, New Mexico and Hawaii as Territories, with a representation of six delegates each, and also give to the National

Committee authority to determine the mode of electing delegates to national conventions.

When it came to the adoption of the report Representative Burke, of Pennsylvania, who introduced a resolution the day before to cut down representation in the national convention to a basis of Republican votes cast in the State, was recognized to present a minority report. The committee had voted down the resolution, 23 to 17.

"As the representative of the seventeen States against the twenty-three," said Mr. Burke, "I wish to present the following minority report."

#### THE MINORITY REPORT.

Mr. Burke was cheered as he asked one of the clerks to read the report, which was done.

The Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire and Utah members of the committee joined in the minority report.

Representative Burke was recognized to speak in behalf of the minority report. He asserted that, inasmuch as the Republican party was founded upon the idea of equal justice to all, it could do no less than adopt the minority report.

Ex-Governor Herrick, of Ohio, followed, and suggested that the matter was one which called for the consideration of Congress as to the elections in the South. He urged against hasty action for the minority resolution, as it was too important to be passed upon so short a deliberation.

Several Southerners spoke against the minority report and a number of Northerners for it.

#### OHIO RESCUES THE SOUTH.

The vote went about equally divided for a long time, but the final count gave the victory to the majority report by a vote of 506 to 471.

The majority report was then adopted by a *viva voce* vote.

The Southern delegations in their applause and cheering gave credit to the Ohio delegation for saving them. Calls of "Ohio!" rang from the delegates gathered under the Southern banners.

Senator Warren, of Wyoming, moved that a recess be taken until nine o'clock at night. Governor Fort, of New Jersey, offered



an amendment making the hour ten o'clock the next morning. The amendment was adopted and the convention adjourned until ten o'clock on the morning of the 18th instant.

### SENATOR LODGE LAUDS EVERY ROOSEVELT POLICY.

SPEECH OF THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN OF CONVENTION,  
JULY 17, 1908.

Senator Lodge's speech as permanent chairman of the Republican National Convention, which stirred up such a demonstration of enthusiasm for President Roosevelt and his policies as seldom if ever has marked a Republican gathering, was looked upon as one of the most important pronouncements in the campaign.

Declaring in forceful manner and with great oratorical effect that the Republican party is the party of progress, the Massachusetts Senator stirred up great partisan pride, only to cap the climax with his reference to Roosevelt, and concluding with what was intended to be a damper on the "third term" movement.

Senator Lodge said:

"I thank you most sincerely for the great honor you have done me in choosing me to preside over your deliberations. For it is a great honor to be the presiding officer of the Republican National Convention.

"I can conceive of conventions—I have, indeed, heard of conventions—where the honor of such a post as that now occupied by me is dubious, and where, if excitement is present, pleasure is conspicuous by its absence. But to be the presiding officer of a Republican convention is ever a high distinction to which no man can be insensible.

### PARTY STANDS ON RECORD.

"No political party in modern times can show such a record of achievement during the last fifty years as the Republican party. Upon that record we can stand and challenge all comers to the lists.

"We do not go forth to contest the great prize with an ideal party, which we sometimes see beautifully depicted by persons of self-confessed superiority and chronic discontent. The glittering abstraction which they present never existed yet on sea or land. It gleams upon us in printers' ink, but it has neither substance nor organization

nor candidates, for organizations and candidates must be taken from the ranks of men and cannot be the floating phantoms of an uneasy dream.

"The American people must choose next November between us and the Democratic party. With the Democratic party and with that alone must the comparison be made. We differ from that party in some important particulars. We both, it is true, have a past and a history, but we treat those possessions very differently.

"They wish to keep their past a profound secret. We seek by all means to publish ours to the world. If we refer to their history they charge us with calumny. We regard ours, truthful and undistorted, as our greatest glory. To the youth of the country they say, 'Judge us solely by our undiscovered future.' We say, 'Read our record, judge us by our past and our present, and from these learn what we are, what we have been and what we mean to be.'

#### DEMOCRATIC POLICIES DEAD.

"Recall the cries which have sounded from the lips of these two parties during the last half century. On the one side, 'Slavery, secession, repudiation of the public debt, fiat money, free trade, free silver, the overthrow of the courts and government ownership.'

"On the Republican side 'free soil, free men; the Union; the payment of the debt; honest money; protection to American industry; the gold industry; the maintenance of law, of order and of the courts and the government regulation of great corporations.'

"The old shibboleths of the Democrats are to-day the epitaphs of policies which are dead and damned. They serve only to remind us of dangers escaped or to warn us of perils to be shunned. The battle cries of the Republicans have been the watchwords of great causes. They tell of victories won and triumphs tasted—they are embodied in the laws and mark the stepping stones by which the Republic has risen to ever greater heights of power and prosperity.

"In these latest years, as in the most remote, we have been true to our traditions. In the process of development a point was reached where the country was confronted by a situation more perilous than any it has ever faced except in the Civil War, and we Republicans were, therefore, obliged to deal with problems of the most complex and difficult character.

## HAVE MET GRAVE TASKS.

"To our honor, be it said, we have not shrunk from the task. Much has been done—much, no doubt, still remains to do—but the great underlying principles have been established and upon them we can build, as necessity arises, carefully and deliberately.

"I have spoken of the seriousness of the situation with which the country was confronted. Its gravity can hardly be overestimated. It grew out of conditions and was the result of forces beyond the control of men.

"Science and invention, the two great factors in this situation, have not only altered radically human environment and our relations to nature, but, in their application they have revolutionized economic conditions. These changed economic conditions have, in turn, affected profoundly society and politics.

"They have led, among other things, to combinations of capital and labor on a scale and with power never before witnessed. They have opened the way to accumulations of wealth in masses beyond the dreams of avarice and never before contemplated by men.

## PROBLEM OF MONOPOLIES.

"The social and political problems thus created are wholly new. It is a fallacy to suppose that because the elements are old the problem itself must, therefore, differ only in degree from those which have gone before. The elements may be old, but the problem presented by a change in the proportion of the elements may be, and, in this case, is entirely new.

"Great individual fortunes and rich men are, it is true, as old as recorded history. Nearly 2,000 years ago the tax farmers of Rome formed a 'trust' for their own profit and protection; the English people, three centuries ago, revolted against the patents and monopolies granted by Elizabeth and James to their courtiers and monopolists; forestallers and speculators in the necessities of life were a curse in our Revolution and bitterly denounced by Washington.

"Yet, it is none the less true that the same things to-day present questions different in kind as well as in degree from their predecessors.

"It is the huge size of private fortunes, the vast extent and power of modern combinations of capital, made possible by present conditions, which have brought upon us in these later years problems



portentous in their possibilities, and threatening, not only our social and political welfare, but even our personal freedom, if they are not boldly met and wisely solved.

#### RADICAL AND REACTIONARY STEPS REPELLED.

"To those who looked beneath the surface an ominous unrest was apparent. The violent counsels of violent men, who aimed at the destruction of property and the overthrow of law, began to be heard and harkened to. The great order-loving, industrious masses of the American people turned away from these advocates of violence, but at the same time demanded that their government should give them, in lawful and reasonable ways, the protection to which they were entitled, against the dangers they justly apprehended.

"The great duty of fulfilling these righteous demands, like all the great public services of the last half century, was imposed upon the Republican party, and they have not flinched from the burden. Under the lead of the President, the Republican party has grappled with the new problems, born of the new condition.

"It has been no light task. Dangerous extremes threatened on either hand. On the one side were the radicals of reaction, who resisted any change at all; on the other side were the radicals of destruction who wished to change everything. These two forms of radicalism are as far apart at the outset as the poles, but when carried out they lead alike to revolution. Between these two extremes the Republican President and the Republican Congress were compelled to steer, and while they advanced steadily, soberly and effectively, they were obliged to repel the radical results on either hand.

#### PRESIDENT'S POLICIES POPULAR.

"Yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, much has been accomplished. The response of the people to the policies urged by the President has been so emphatic that it has been made clear, once for all, that the Government of the United States is never to be dominated by money and financial interests, and that the political party which permits itself to be ruled by them is thereby doomed to defeat.

"The policy of the Republican party in dealing with these new and formidable questions which have taken concrete form in enormous combinations of capital and in great public service corporations has



THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, 1908.

This view shows the throngs of delegates entering the great Coliseum where the Convention was held. A delegation is seen crossing the street with banners flying.



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WILLIAM H. TAFT'S HOME WHEN IN CINCINNATI.

Residence of Charles P. Taft.

On the golf course.

Mr. Taft at his desk.

Mr. Taft making a speech.



been formulated and determined. That policy is to use government regulation and supervision for the control of corporations and combinations so that these great and necessary instruments of commerce and business may be preserved as useful servants and not destroyed because they have threatened to become dangerous masters.

"This policy is the absolute opposite of government ownership and all like measures, advocated by our opponents, which tend directly to socialism and to all its attendant miseries and evils.

"It is in pursuance of this policy, shaped and settled during the past few years, that old laws have been enforced and new ones enacted.

#### ROOSEVELT BEST ABUSED MAN.

"The President has enforced the laws as he found them on the statute book. For this performance of his sworn duty he has been bitterly attacked. It was to be expected.

"Vested abuses and profitable wrongs cry out loudly when their entrenchments are carried, and some one is sure to be hurt when the bayonets of the law are pushed home. In the great American electorate money has few votes, but it can command many voices and cause many birds to sing.

"The result is that the President is the best abused and most popular man in the United States to-day. He has been more abused than any President except Washington, Lincoln and Grant. He possesses the love and confidence of the American people to a degree never equaled except by Lincoln and Washington. May it not be said in sober truth that the fearless performance of a sworn duty is not without its exceeding great reward?

#### ROOSEVELT'S REFUSAL TO RUN.

"The President, who has led his party and the people in this great work, retires, by his own determination, from his high office on the 4th of March next. His refusal of a renomination, dictated by the loftiest motives and by a noble loyalty to American traditions, is final and irrevocable.

"Any one who attempts to use his name as a candidate for the Presidency impugns both his sincerity and his good faith, two of the President's greatest and most conspicuous qualities, upon which no shadow has ever been cast.

"That man is no friend to Theodore Roosevelt and does not cherish his name and fame who now, from any motive, seeks to urge him as a candidate for the great office which he has finally declined. The President has refused what his countrymen would gladly have given him; he says what he means and means what he says, and his party and his country will respect his wishes, as they honor his high character and great public service.

#### PLEDGED TO HIS POLICIES.

"But although the President retires, he leaves his policies behind him. To those policies the Republican party stands pledged. We must carry out as we have begun, regardless alike of the radicals of reaction and the radicals of revolution. We must hold fast to that which is good while we make the advances which the times demand.

"The great services of the President to the world's peace will be continued by the party which he has led. We are a party fit to rule and govern, to legislate and administer, and not a fortuitous collection of atoms, whose only form of thought or motion is to oppose.

"Above all, we are true to our traditions and to our past—true now as we were in the days of Lincoln. In this spirit we must prevail; by this sign we must conquer."

#### PLATFORM ADOPTED.

It was 10.17 o'clock, June 18th, when Chairman Lodge rapped the convention to order and introduced Rev. Dr. John Wesley Hill, of New York, who opened the session with prayer.

Immediately after the invocation Senator Fulton, of Oregon, was recognized, to introduce to the convention George H. Williams, the last member of President Grant's Cabinet. Mr. Williams is a member of the Oregon delegation and was Attorney-General under President Grant and is more than eighty years old.

#### LITTLE OF PLATFORM HEARD.

Senator Hopkins received the recognition of the chair, and there was a wave of applause as he stepped to the stage. Representative Cooper, of Wisconsin, selected to make a minority report on the platform, at once went to the stage.

Chairman Lodge formally presented Senator Hopkins to the convention.

Although Senator Hopkins is a speaker with excellent enunciation and a clear, resonant voice, the making himself audible throughout the hall was a task that taxed his powers to the utmost. The roar of conversation in the convention swelled steadily as the Senator's voice grew a bit husky.

The noise of conversation increased steadily, and it was only a short time before Senator Hopkins was virtually submerged in the vocal struggle. A white-haired delegate from Colorado finally became restless.

"Mr. Chairman," he called, "bring some order."

Bang went the chairman's gavel. The hall was instantly quiet and Senator Hopkins went on with comparative ease.

#### "NO, NO," FOR INJUNCTION PLANK.

When the anti-injunction plank was reached the words "integrity of the courts" called forth applause. There were cries of "No, no!" when the suggestion was made that necessity existed for a change in the present manner of issuing injunctions. The conclusion of the plank was generously applauded.

The planks immediately following received little attention and were apparently unnoticed by the delegates.

Reference to the negro in the platform and the reiteration of the party's demand for the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution called forth some applause.

#### DEBATE CUT SHORT.

The reading of the platform was concluded at 11.16.

"I move the previous question on the report I have just read and the minority report which will be read by Representative Cooper."

It was Senator Hopkins who spoke. Kansas and Ohio seconded the motion, and it was put to a *viva voce* vote and declared carried, although there were many "noes" raised in opposition.

Representative Cooper, as he advanced to the front, was greeted with cheers and cries of encouragement from the Wisconsin delegation. None came from any other direction.



Chairman Lodge, before Mr. Cooper commenced the reading of his report, announced that the debate on the question would be confined within forty minutes, one-half to each side. Senator Hopkins, he said, would have charge of the debate on the side of the majority, and Representative Cooper would lead the fight on behalf of the minority.

#### THE MINORITY REPORT.

"The minority of the committee being unable to agree," began Representative Cooper, "with the majority in regard to the tariff, the trusts, railroads, injunctions and trials in contempt cases, has felt compelled to submit a minority report on those subjects."

Among other items, the minority report favored the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission; the physical valuation of railroads; the appointment of a permanent tariff commission; the prohibition of combination for the purpose of stifling competition; the publication of campaign contributions and expenditures, giving the names of contributors.

"We recommend," continued Mr. Cooper amid applause, "the enactment of a law requiring the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an exact inventory of the physical property of all railroads, such valuation to be made the basis of just and reasonable railroad rates."

The report also asked for the enactment of a law regulating the rates and services of telephone and telegraph companies.

#### STRONG INJUNCTION PLANK.

The minority injunction plank demanded the enactment of a law preventing the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes when such injunctions would not have been asked had there been no labor element involved. It was also asked that the issuance of injunctions should in all cases be forbidden where the exigencies of the situation could be covered by the ordinary processes of law.

This specification was extended so that it was an endorsement of the plank that President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, had urged before the committee for insertion in the platform.

Mr. Cooper argued shortly on the various planks offered in his report, complaining that he had no idea his time was curtailed as

announced by the chairman. Mr. Cooper was followed by others and a lively debate ensued.

#### SEPARATE VOTES DEMANDED.

Governor Hanly, of Indiana, rose to a question of personal privilege, asking for a separate vote on the section relating to the publication of campaign expenses. The chair stated the question could be divided.

Separate ballots were also asked by Governor Sheldon, of Nebraska, on the section relating to the election of Senators, and by Governor Crawford, of South Dakota, on the physical valuation of railroads.

The first ballot taken was on the adoption of the minority report, except on the three sections which were to be voted on separately.

The minority report was voted down by 952 to 28.

"The question now is on the plank relating to campaign contributions," said Chairman Lodge.

"And upon that I demand a call of the roll," said Governor Hanly.

"Wisconsin seconds the motion," came a shout.

"The call of the roll is ordered," said the chairman. "Those in favor of inserting the publicity plank in the platform will vote aye, those opposed no."

The final vote by which the publicity plank was lost was 94 ayes, 880 noes.

The third roll call was on the amendment covering the physical valuation of railroads.

The physical valuation plank was lost by 917 to 63.

The final roll call on the amendments was on the section calling for the election of Senators by the direct vote of the people.

"Nebraska asks a roll call," said the chairman.

The popular election plank for Senators went down and out by 866 to 114.

"The question now is on the adoption of the majority report," said Chairman Lodge. The adoption of the resolutions was by a *viva voce* vote, no voice being raised in the negative.

## CANNON FIRST CANDIDATE NAMED.

"The next business is the presentation of names of candidates for the office of President of the United States," said Chairman Lodge at 12.45 P. M., and there was a storm of cheers.

The clerk ran rapidly down the list of States and there was no response until Illinois was reached. Then Representative Boutell swept to the platform to nominate Speaker Cannon. The enthusiastic cheers were quickly hushed as Mr. Boutell held up his hand for attention and began his address.

Just as Mr. Boutell began his address Chairman Lodge yielded the gavel to Senator Heyburn, of Idaho.

The mention of the name of Cannon was the signal for an uprising of the Illinois delegation. They mounted their chairs, cheered and sat down inside of a few seconds. Here and there throughout the hall a flag or handkerchief was raised, six or seven of the New York delegation joining in. Illinois cheered in loyal fashion, but its following was scant, and the entire demonstration was over in less than two minutes.

While Mr. Boutell was in the most impassioned periods of his speech the Taft and Fairbanks men, who occupied seats almost at his feet, were busy preparing for their turn. They brought in bundles of small flags, distributing them throughout their own delegations and to all others who would agree to wave them at the critical time.

Illinois was up again as Speaker Cannon was placed formally in nomination, and Ohio and a few delegates from New York who paid to Illinois the tribute of cheers and the waving of their flags.

Representative J. W. Fordney, of Michigan, made the seconding speech for Speaker Cannon.

## FAIRBANKS ORATORS JEERED.

"Indiana," called the clerk, and with an upshot of colored bunting the delegates of that State were on their feet with cheers for Vice-President Fairbanks. A delegate in the Connecticut delegation lent virtually all of the outside moral support that was given the Hoosiers.

Governor J. Frank Hanly, of Indiana, who was to present the name of the Vice-President, mounted the rostrum and was greeted



by Chairman Lodge, who asked him what his name was. The Governor introduced himself and the chairman presented him to the convention.

After Governor Hanly had been speaking fifteen minutes the galleries again grew restive and began to cry:

"Nominate him—name him."

Chairman Lodge said: "The gentleman presenting the name of any candidate is entitled to as much time as he sees fit to use."

He closed with the announcement that unless respectful attention was given the speakers the police would clear the galleries.

When Governor Hanly concluded his address by naming Mr. Fairbanks and declaring, "Nominate him and victory in November will be ours," there was a demonstration in the Indiana delegation, in which several of the Ohio delegates participated.

Mayor Bookwalter, of Indianapolis, seconded Fairbanks' nomination, speaking extemporaneously.

#### HUGHES NEXT NAMED.

There was no further response until New York was reached. Then General Stewart L. Woodford arose to nominate Governor Hughes. He was cheered lustily by members of the New York delegation, in which several other sections joined.

During the nominating speeches the Coliseum was filled from wall to wall, every aisle, all the stairways and entrances being packed to the utmost. So dense was the throng that the city building inspector was compelled to issue an order forbidding any more people to enter the place.

#### DELEGATES WRANGLE.

Hot words emphasized with menacing gestures passed between Ex-Governor Herrick, of Ohio, and Governor Hanly as the latter took his seat. Governor Hanly complained that he had not been treated right, and to the disclaimer of responsibility by Mr. Herrick the Governor was heard to ejaculate:

"I can make it burn for you and I am going to do it."

The nomination of Governor Hughes was seconded from the floor by H. T. Adams, delegate from the Fifth Virginia District. Mr. Adams made no attempt at a speech.

## ACCLAIM FOR TAFT.

"North Dakota," called the clerk.

"North Carolina," and then, with extra emphasis, "Ohio!"

The response was electric. Ohio gave a yell, the neighboring delegations, except Illinois and Indiana, followed, and for a short period the uproar was deafening. The galleries joined in with enthusiasm and the cheering rang from end to end of the building. Alice Roosevelt-Longworth and her husband joined in the tribute to Secretary Taft. She mixed her enthusiastic tribute and waved a blue Knox banner instead of the little red burgee bearing the name of Taft which had been supplied for her use.

In the South Carolina delegation a little girl was held aloft by T. L. Grant. She waved a small flag with each hand and caused a renewed burst of cheers.

Representative Theodore E. Burton, of Cleveland, the orator chosen to name Taft, walked to the front of the platform in the midst of another wild demonstration from the Ohio delegation and their friends.

Mr. Burton received most respectful attention throughout the hall. He spoke rapidly and could be heard easily by the majority of the throng.

Mr. Burton's reference to Taft as "the great War Secretary" served to bring forth applause, which was renewed with greater vigor when he reviewed Taft's career.

The first mention of the name of Taft by the speaker passed almost without notice. The name was uttered and the orator swept on before the convention seemed to realize that the name had been uttered.

## TWENTY-FIVE-MINUTE OVATION BEGINS.

As Mr. Burton neared the end of his speech, perfect stillness pervaded the hall. He assured his hearers that whether in war or in peace Secretary Taft, as Chief Magistrate, would guide the destinies of the nation "with a strong hand and with a gentle, patriotic heart."

"And so," said he, "to-day, in the presence of 10,000 persons and the inspiring thought of the well nigh 10,000 times 10,000 who

dwelt within our borders, I name for the Presidency that perfect type of American manhood, that peerless representative of the noblest ideals in our national life—William H. Taft."

The demonstration that followed the name of Ohio on the roll was as a drop to a deluge as compared to the roar that broke out as Mr. Burton concluded. On their chairs, with waving flags, hats and handkerchiefs, stood the men from Taft's home State, shouting at the top of their voices. Other delegations came in on the wave, and a roar of laughter followed when a flagpole, to which was attached the promised pair of angora goat trousers, of most generous proportions, was held aloft by members of the Texas delegation, bearing the inscription:

"As pants the hart for cooling streams, so Texas pants for Taft."

The blue banner bearing the face of Taft was quickly raised, and the Ohio delegation thronged about it, yelling and whooping. Then they bore it onward down the aisle, cheering madly as they went. The chairman of the Oklahoma delegation caught up the State standard and waved it high above the heads of the surrounding delegates.

"TAFT, TAFT; BIG BILL TAFT!"

The Ohio crowd began a chanting yell of "Taft! Taft! William H. Taft!" which was caught up by delegates from Arkansas, Missouri, South Carolina and Virginia, who began a parade around the aisles. Connecticut, Oklahoma, Washington and other States soon joined in the line. Alaska, Nebraska and Kentucky took up the marching, and finally the crowd of pushing, parading delegations included most of the State standards in the hall.

Charles P. Taft, brother of the Secretary, mounted the step-ladder to the stage to see the surging, yelling crowds of delegates. He waved a flag and his beaming face plainly told his pleasure.

"Taft! Taft! Big Bill Taft!" shouted the marchers.

When the demonstration had been under way twenty-five minutes Chairman Lodge, with the Taft floor managers, managed to quiet the delegates and introduced George A. Knight, of California, to second the Taft nomination.



## FORAKER NEXT IN LINE.

When the cheers following the speech of Mr. Knight were ended, Chairman Lodge introduced C. B. McCoy, of Coshocton, Ohio, to place in nomination the name of Senator Joseph B. Foraker.

"My speech will be the shortest of the convention," declared Mr. McCoy, as he began a personal tribute and review of the career of Senator Foraker.

W. O. Emery, of Macon, Ga., a negro, made the seconding speech for Senator Foraker, and was liberally applauded.

## ENTHUSIASM FOR KNOX.

"Oklahoma," droned the clerk, "Oregon," "Pennsylvania," and the chance of the Knox men had come at last. Lieutenant-Governor Robert S. Murphy came to the front amid cheers from Pennsylvania and the galleries. He was cheerfully informed by the Pennsylvania delegates that he was "all right."

Mr. Murphy strode back and forth on the rostrum setting forth in loyal tones the merits of Senator Knox. Pennsylvanians cheered wildly and waved their flags in the faces of the Ohio delegation who sat immediately on their right. Ohio returned the compliment with interest and the scene was pretty and filled with color.

The seconding speech in behalf of Senator Knox was made by James Scarlet, of Danville, Pa.

## LA FOLLETTE LAST IN LIST.

The call of the roll brought no further responding voice until Wisconsin was reached and Henry F. Cochems, of Milwaukee, came forward to nominate Senator La Follette. The applause and cheers of the Wisconsin delegation followed him as he spoke.

Mr. Cochems spoke in behalf of Senator La Follette with a vigor and manner that carried the convention with him. Once when the impatient galleries broke in he said emphatically and pleasantly:

"I'm not going to cumber the record, gentlemen, but I'm going to have my say in a decent way," and he went on with renewed vigor,

When a man standing near the rostrum urged him to "name him" Cochems replied:

"That's all right, four-dollars-a-week."

"You're a four-flusher!" retorted the man on the floor, who was

threatened with a violent exit if he did not put a period to his conversation.

"Back to Wisconsin!" called out a delegate in the third row.

Mr. Cochems weathered several more storms of protest from the crowd before he reached the name of his candidate in a peroration, the effectiveness of which was all but lost in a huskiness of voice, the result of his battle with the taunting throngs.

The nomination of Senator La Follette was seconded by C. A. McGee, of Wisconsin.

#### UPROAR FOR ROOSEVELT.

A wild cheer greeted Mr. McGee as he closed and the demonstration exceeded in intensity that which greeted the presentation of any other candidate except Taft. The Wisconsin delegates and alternates went frantic. The cheering rapidly increased when a messenger in the United States Senate held up a picture of Roosevelt.

The uproar was so great at the time the picture was shown that it was impossible to tell exactly where the La Follette enthusiasm ended and the Roosevelt cheers began.

The Wisconsin men took full charge of the outburst, however, and led it with vigor and increasing energy minute by minute.

Sergeant-at-Arms Stone directed that the picture of Roosevelt be taken down. It was promptly done, but the cheering went on undiminished, the tumult being so great that no voice, nor the lusty strokes of the chairman's gavel were able to penetrate it. The excitement was entirely in the galleries, the delegates, with the exception of Wisconsin, remaining quiet.

The cheering developed definitely into a Roosevelt demonstration and again the lithograph of the President was raised. Then in the balcony there appeared an immense American flag bearing the picture of the President.

Two men marched across the balcony platform in the rear of the stage and the cheering was taken up anew, mingled with cries of "Four, four, four years more."

Chairman Lodge, abandoning all efforts to still the crowd, ordered Secretary Malloy to continue the call. This was done in the midst of a terrific uproar. The chairman then announced in a tone

which, although strained to the utmost, could be heard only a few feet away:

"That completes the roll of States and the roll call will now be had for the vote. We will not wait a minute longer."

#### VOTE TAKEN IN STORM OF CHEERS.

The scene was absolutely unique in American political history, the vote being taken during a terrific uproar in behalf of a man whose name was not before the convention.

There had been 469 votes cast for Taft when Ohio was reached and the nomination was made. The forty-two votes of Ohio gave Taft 511, whereas only 491 were required. A roar greeted the final announcement of the total Taft vote as 702, thus giving him the nomination on the first ballot, but the wearied delegates and spectators were not equal to a sustained effort, and the enthusiasm soon spent itself.

Representative Boutell, who nominated Cannon, was one of the first delegates to mount a chair and call, "Hurrah for Taft!"

The band played "The Star-Spangled Banner," and many joined in singing the national anthem. A large crayon portrait of Taft was brought to the stage and prominently placed.

General Woodford, of New York, was recognized, and said:

"Mr. Chairman, on the request of Governor Hughes and of the united New York delegation, I move that the nomination of William H. Taft be made unanimous."

Senator Penrose, of Pennsylvania, and Representative Boutell, of Illinois, both clamored for recognition. The former was recognized, and moved to make the nomination unanimous. Mr Boutell seconded the motion, and Indiana, Wisconsin and the Foraker delegates followed suit. The motion was put by the chairman and carried with a shout.

"I declare the vote to be unanimous," said the chairman, and the last cheer of the day was given in response.

On motion of Senator Fulton, the convention took a recess at 5.22 P. M. until 10 A. M. the next day.

#### VOTE ON PRESIDENCY.

The following was declared the official vote at the next session:



*For Taft.*

Alabama .....	22	North Carolina .....	24
Arkansas .....	18	North Dakota .....	8
California .....	20	Ohio .....	42
Colorado .....	10	Oklahoma .....	14
Connecticut .....	14	Oregon .....	8
Delaware .....	6	Pennsylvania .....	1
Florida .....	10	Rhode Island .....	8
Georgia .....	17	South Carolina .....	13
Idaho .....	6	South Dakota .....	8
Illinois .....	3	Tennessee .....	24
Iowa .....	26	Texas .....	36
Kansas .....	20	Utah .....	6
Kentucky .....	24	Vermont .....	8
Louisiana .....	18	Virginia .....	21
Maine .....	12	Washington .....	10
Maryland .....	16	West Virginia .....	14
Massachusetts .....	32	Wisconsin .....	1
Michigan .....	27	Wyoming .....	6
Minnesota .....	22	Alaska .....	2
Mississippi .....	20	Arizona .....	2
Missouri .....	36	District of Columbia .....	1
Montana .....	6	Hawaii .....	2
Nebraska .....	16	New Mexico .....	2
Nevada .....	6	Philippine Islands .....	2
New Hampshire .....	5	Porto Rico .....	2
New Jersey .....	15		
New York .....	10	Total .....	702

*Cannon*—Illinois, 51; Michigan, 1; New Jersey, 3; New York, 3; total 58.

*Fairbanks*—Georgia, 1; Indiana, 30; Kentucky, 2; New Hampshire, 3; New Jersey, 2; South Carolina, 2; total 40.

*Hughes*—New York, 65; Virginia, 2; total 67.

*Foraker*—Georgia, 8; Ohio, 4; South Carolina, 2; Virginia, 1; District of Columbia, 1; total 16.

*Knox*—New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 64; total 68.

*La Follette*—Wisconsin, 25.

*Roosevelt*—Pennsylvania, 3.

Absent—South Carolina, 1.  
Total number of delegates, 980.  
Majority, 491.

#### BURTON'S SPEECH NOMINATING TAFT.

While all the speeches placing favorite sons of different States in nomination were creditable, naturally the greatest interest centred in the speech of Representative Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, in placing Secretary Taft before the convention. Mr. Burton said:

"This convention enters upon the grave responsibility of selecting a Presidential candidate with the serene assurance that the Republican party will continue to rule this people. What assembled multitude in any land has ever pointed the way to such beneficent results for home and for the progress of the whole human race as the recurring conventions of this grand old organization? Yet we do not rely alone upon the record of that which it has accomplished. We emphasize, even more, its supreme qualifications to solve the problems of the present.

"It is especially appropriate that this gathering should be held in this marvelous city of Chicago, whence the steel bands of commerce reach out in every direction, over plain and river and mountain, to almost boundless distance, bringing the richest treasures of a continent to lay them at your feet. Here it was that the righteous uprising against slavery and Bourbonism, sprung from the nation's conscience, raised its first triumphant voice when Abraham Lincoln was nominated. And here, again, with notes of thunderous acclaim, enraptured throngs greeted the naming of Garfield, of Blaine, of Harrison and of Roosevelt.

#### OHIO AGAIN PRESENTS CANDIDATE.

"Again Ohio presents a candidate to the National Republican Convention. In seven stubbornly contested Presidential campaigns sons of her sacred soil have led the embattled Republican hosts to victory. The Buckeye State has assuredly contributed her share of statesmen and generals for the upbuilding of the nation. But that of which we are prouder still is her stalwart citizenship—the mightiest bulwark of the Republic in every commonwealth—made up of America's free yeomen, ever ready to respond to the tocsin of alarm

in days of peril, or to crush corruption whenever it raises its menacing head.

"From this citizenship Ohio, in the supreme emergency of the Civil War, sent forth more than 200,000 soldiers for our country's defense, a formidable array easily surpassing in numbers the world-conquering legions of imperial Cæsar, and even larger than any army ever mustered by Britain for the tented field. But transcendent above all is the fact that Ohio is one of a matchless union of States linked together in everlasting bonds of amity and constituting an empire wonderful in power and almost immeasurable in extent.

"Each sovereign State alone would occupy but a subordinate place in the great current of the world's events, but when represented by one of forty-six bright stars on a field of stainless blue, every one forms part of an emblem of union and of strength more beautiful far than the most brilliant constellation in the heavens.

"We welcome the friendly rivalry of candidates from other States—from the great Empire State, the Keystone State, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, forming with Ohio a broad expanse extending in unbroken sweep from old ocean to the uppermost bound of the greatest of inland seas. Each of these presents a leader among leaders, whose achievements and renown are not confined to the narrow limits of a single commonwealth. To-day with fervid earnestness we wage a contest for the prize. To-morrow united for the fray and quickened by a common fiery zeal, the champions of all the candidates will go forth with mounting enthusiasm to vanquish the foe.

#### PERPLEXING QUESTION OF WEALTH.

"The most perplexing questions of to-day arise from the bountiful development of our material wealth. Such a development cannot occur without the creation of inequalities and dangers to the social fabric. I most strenuously deny that the American business man or the American citizen cherishes lower standards than the citizens of any other country. The American people are by no means depraved. But by reason of their busy absorption in varied pursuits and of the glamor which attends success in great undertakings, questionable methods have been able to engraft themselves upon the business of the country. Rich rewards have too frequently been gained by some



who are none too scrupulous. Monopoly, dishonesty and fraud have assumed a prominence which calls for the earnest attention and condemnation of every man who truly loves the Republic.

"Against all these abuses and in the work for restoring old ideals of honesty and equality, as well as for higher standards of civic duty, one man has stood pre-eminent, and that man is Theodore Roosevelt. Against corruption in every form he has set his face with grim determination, prompt and fearless in action and with that intelligent leadership which has assured the establishment of a better era in which the strong and the weak alike must submit themselves to the impartial execution of the law. There was need of a strong, courageous spirit to restrain those destructive forces which have asserted themselves in this time of growth and plenty. The story of his achievements will make up one of the brightest pages in the history of this or any age and will prove that to-day, as in any critical hour of social unrest or of danger, the man will appear who can grapple with the emergency.

"Who so fit to take up the tasks which this wondrous generation demands should be wisely and impartially performed as his great War Secretary? Since the day when, in Benjamin Harrison's administration, these two first met—the one as Solicitor-General, the other as a member of the Civil Service Commission—they have been bound together by like ideals and aims, by close ties of friendship, and by the exchange of mutual counsel, each with his own individuality and characteristics keeping constantly in view the ennobling vision of a better and a greater America. They have not been satisfied that the Temple of Prosperity should be decked alone by the jewels of the fortunate and the opulent, but have insisted that it should still more abound in trophies which commemorate the enforcement of even-handed justice and the maintenance of that equal opportunity which spreads hope and blessing even to the humblest home. Since the day when, less than thirty years of age, Mr. Taft denounced, with burning words, a member of his profession who had been guilty of flagrantly vicious practices and had demoralized the community, he has ever been associated with the cause of true reform—with that reform which will not content itself with academic dissertation or hollow words.

## MAN OF ACTION.

"He has been imbued with the spirit of action. His advocacy of sounder conditions has never arisen from a desire for the exploitation of himself. It has always been based upon unswerving integrity and the courage to speak the truth, as he understands it, on all occasions, no matter how influential or powerful the evils which he may attack.

"No one has ever yet assumed the Presidential chair who had received a more ideal preparation for the duties of that great office. As Judge in State and Federal courts, as Solicitor-General, as Governor of the Philippines, as Secretary of War, which has included the work of Colonial Secretary and Director of National Public Works, he has received his training and has always shown himself master of the situation and competent to make more honorable and beloved the American name. There have been no years of inaction in his career. He has been continuously engaged in weighty tasks and each successive service has been characterized by an increasing influence upon most vital questions.

"In our domestic affairs, in whatever position he has held, he has displayed the rare union of a judicial temperament with an unsurpassed gift for administrative management. To him belongs the extremely valuable faculty of eliminating the nonessential from complicated problems and going directly to their substance. His capacity for work is enormous, yet quite as helpful is his equable temperament, which will not allow the annoyances of life to distract or hamper him.

"Although of an aggressive personality, he possesses an infinite good nature, a charm of manner and a poise which have made him a model for exalted station. In the final analysis even the highest officials must be judged as men, and under this criterion Secretary Taft is now and will ever be known for his broad sympathies with every grade of humanity and as one invariably actuated by that democratic spirit which should characterize a progressive American. And yet no one can for a moment hesitate to recognize his severity in dealing with wrong-doing. While no honest enterprise need fear him, no dishonest scheme could hope to hide its face from the light or to escape punishment.

"FATHER OF THE PHILIPPINES."

"More than any other of our public men he has had to do with our outlying dependencies and colonial relations. It was he who took in charge the prosecution of that colossal enterprise on the Isthmus, the canal uniting the lesser and the greater oceans, and under his directing hand the completion of this most stupendous of public works is no longer a vague and distant hope, but an imminent reality. With his ever-ready skill as a pacificator, he restored tranquillity in the fertile Island of Cuba, so often distracted by civil strife. In the far-off Philippines, under a blazing tropical sky, he found a people of many races and tribes, degraded by centuries of misrule and oppression; and there, too, he not only established the rule of law and local control in place of confusion and bloody strife, but showed the way to self-government and a new recognition of the rights of man. For peoples and races, like individuals, under the inspiration of a friendly guide, may lift their faces heavenward and seek to climb the great world's altar stairs to nobler heights of liberty and opportunity.

"It is to his lasting honor that his desire was not to be known as 'Taft, the Pro-Consul,' but as 'Taft, the Father of the Filipinos,' who brought to them the light of modern civilization.

"In the larger sphere of world politics we are entering into new and closer bonds with all the nations of the earth. Who is better qualified than he to lead America to her true position in this later day when the boundaries established in the centuries past are becoming less distinct and kingdoms and races are beginning to realize that they have all one common destiny?

ARMED TO MEET BIG ISSUES.

"Secretary Taft has exceptional familiarity with conditions in the distant Orient—in Japan, in China. We may rest assured that our traditional friendship with Japan will continue. Moreover, the future promises that the slumbering millions of China will awake from the lethargy of ages, and she then will realize that the morning dawn of fresher life and wider outlook comes to her across the broad Pacific from free America, her truest friend and helper. We covet no portion of her territory. We desire from her, as from all nations,



increased good will and that mutual respect which knows neither bluster nor cringing on either side.

"Thus in this new era of larger relations Secretary Taft, with his comprehension of national and international subjects, would furnish a certainty of peace and sustained prestige. Under him, at home and everywhere, this mighty people would have an assured confidence in the secure development and progress of the country and would rest safe in the reliance that a Chief Executive was at the helm who, in peace or in war, would guide the destinies of the nation with a strong hand and with a gentle, patriotic heart.

"And so to-day, in the presence of more than ten thousand, and with the inspiring thought of the well-nigh ten thousand times ten thousand who dwell within our borders, I nominate for the Presidency that perfect type of American manhood, that peerless representative of the noblest ideals in our national life, William H. Taft, of Ohio."

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### THE LAST DAY OF THE CONVENTION.

It was 10.18 o'clock Friday morning, June 19th, when the gavel began to pound for order. There were scores of empty seats on the floor and in the balconies as Rabbi Tobias Schanfaber, of Chicago, made the opening prayer. The ever-increasing crash of marching bands outside threatened to drown the invocation, but the music was finally stilled. The closing sentence of the prayer was as follows:

"May at length all racial and religious hatreds pass away and all national antipathies be forgotten and the cords of fraternal fellowship bind the nations of the world into one indissoluble tie of brotherly love and devoted friendship, so that Thy kingdom may soon be established on earth and all mankind live together in peace and harmony. Amen."

### CHEERS FOR NEW YORK MAN.

Chairman Lodge at the conclusion of the prayer said that he desired to make a formal announcement which had been overlooked the day before.

"It is my pleasure to announce to you," he said, "that you have nominated for the Presidency for the term beginning March 4 next William Howard Taft, of Ohio."

The announcement was greeted with cheering, which was soon interrupted by a delegate from Michigan, who offered a motion providing that all nominating speeches for Vice-Presidential candidates be limited to ten minutes.

The call of the roll for nominations then was in order and there was no response until Delaware was reached when Senator du Pont rose and declared:

"Delaware yields to New York."

#### WOODRUFF NAMES SHERMAN.

This was the beginning of the Sherman wave and there was another outburst of cheering. Timothy L. Woodruff had been chosen to make the Sherman nominating speech and was met with another vociferous outburst.

Mr. Woodruff called attention to the fact that New York, the foremost of the commercial and industrial commonwealths of the nation, "was the pivotal State in the country." The New York delegation felt that "unless you accord our great State, which has unsuccessfully presented to you a candidate for President, the second place upon the ticket we will be compelled to return to our vast constituency without that essential with which there will be no question as to the certainty of success for the ticket."

No Republican ticket, he said, had ever been defeated with a New York Republican on it, except once, "and that was when our opponents were wise enough to select a New York Democrat to head the Democratic ticket."

Mr. Sherman, he asserted, was not only known in every portion of the State of New York, "but is known and respected in every congressional district represented in this convention."

"Even in the Democratic districts," he continued, "there will not be a man to say aught against him, no matter how deep or bitter will be his partisan prejudice. His industry is proverbial. He is recognized throughout the land as one of the best qualified men in either branch of Congress for the discharge of legislative duties. He is the best parliamentarian in the United States.

"Through his long career in Congress, he has become particularly conversant with all the diversified commercial and industrial interests of the land. He has been largely responsible for much of

the legislation during the last few years which has had so much to do with the marvelous growth and unparalleled prosperity of the United States.

"On behalf of the united and solid delegation of the great Empire State, for as New York goes so goes the Union, I take the greatest pleasure in presenting to you for what we of New York believe must be your favorable consideration, Congressman James S. Sherman, of New York."

#### OVATION FOR CANNON.

Speaker Cannon as he went forward to second the nomination of Sherman received one of the most enthusiastic receptions accorded to any man during the convention. He repeatedly waved his hand to the convention, motioning them to resume their seats, but it was several minutes before he was able to begin.

"I would rather be a doorkeeper in the House of the Lord than to dwell in the tents of wickedness," he began, and cheers and laughter greeted the remark.

"The Republican party," he continued, "true to its policies since its organization, keeping step with the advance of civilization, has met in its great national convention and has made a platform that is true to the policies, the hopes, the aspirations, the progress of the country. It has nominated for its standard-bearer and its great leader Ohio's son, William H. Taft.

"A broad, cultured, judicial minded executive official, who has never failed to answer every draft that has been drawn upon him in the equivalent of the fullest payment with fidelity to the public service, for the good of the republic and all the people therein. I most heartily and cheerfully, without mental reservation, say that William H. Taft is my candidate, and congratulate this great convention in having made no mistake in nominating this great man.

"The Middle West that stands first in population, first in agriculture, first in manufacture, first in mineral wealth, has the first place upon the ticket. The great Empire State honors itself when it honors James S. Sherman in presenting him to this convention. I believe, with the great Middle West, recognizing the importance of the Empire State, recognizing the best interests of your party and of my party from every standpoint, not alone because he is from the



State of New York, but because he is big enough, able enough, industrious enough, patriotic enough to fill the great office of the Vice-Presidency; and if, in the chapter of happenings, which God forbid, the President should be called upon to cross the river, measuring my words, there is no man of my acquaintance that I would sooner trust from all the tests of good citizenship and ability to worthily fill the first place instead of the second place in the republic.

"Tried by test William H. Taft and James S. Sherman will fill the measure; and I believe that I can confidently predict that they will walk over the track, and by the overwhelming majority of an intelligent constituency will be our President and our Vice-President for the coming four years."

Then, waving both arms at the delegates, he snapped out "Good-by," and strode to the rear, followed by a roar of laughter and applause.

Governor Willson, of Kentucky, seconded the nomination of Mr. Sherman from the floor. "The knocking is all over now," he exclaimed, "and we are solid and united."

#### LODGE FOR GUILD.

Chairman Lodge surrendered the chair to Franklin A. Denison, of Illinois, as Massachusetts was reached and nominated Governor Curtis Guild, Jr., of Massachusetts, for the Vice-Presidency.

The seconding speech for Governor Guild was made by Chase S. Osborn, of Michigan.

#### NEW JERSEY'S FAVORITE.

New Jersey sent to the platform Thomas N. McCarter to place in nomination former Governor Franklin Murphy, of that State.

#### PENNSYLVANIA FOR SHERMAN.

New Jersey's delegates loyally cheered their favorite and nearby delegations swelled the chorus.

North Carolina and Oklahoma seconded Sherman from the floor, and then Pennsylvania's seconding of Mr. Sherman called out great cheering from the New York delegation, as they regarded this as conclusive promise of victory for their candidate. Representative Olmsted made the speech for Pennsylvania.

Tennessee and Virginia seconded Sherman, and Louisiana sought to, but was too late. Then the vote was taken by States.

The vote on the Vice-Presidential nomination resulted as follows: Total vote cast, 979 out of 980. For Sherman, 816; for Murphy, 77; for Guild, 75; for Sheldon, 10; for Fairbanks, 1.

#### MADE UNANIMOUS.

The large picture of Sherman was upraised instantly the result was announced, and for five minutes the convention was in an uproar.

"Shall the nomination be made unanimous?" said Chairman Lodge, and he recognized Senator Crane, of Massachusetts, who made a motion in accordance with the chairman's question, in behalf of Governor Guild. New Jersey and Nebraska quickly trailed on, and when the motion was put it was carried with a shout.

#### NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE APPOINTED.

Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire, offered the usual resolution to appoint the permanent chairman, Senator Lodge, as chairman of the committee to notify the Presidential nominee, and that the temporary chairman, Senator J. C. Burrows, be appointed to head the committee to notify the Vice-Presidential nominee.

Chairman Lodge, who is going abroad this summer, requested that Senator William Warner, of Missouri, past commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, be substituted in his place. The resolution was unanimously adopted with this amendment.

The usual resolutions of thanks were adopted and the convention adjourned permanently, with the band playing, "The Star-Spangled Banner."

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1908.

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The text of the platform as adopted by the Republican Convention is as follows:

Once more the Republican party, in national convention assembled, submits its cause to the people. This great historic organization, that destroyed slavery, preserved the Union, restored credit, expanded the national domain, established a sound financial system, developed the industries and resources of the country and gave to the nation her seat of honor in the councils of the world, now meets the new problems of government with the same courage and capacity with which it solved the old.

#### REPUBLICANISM UNDER ROOSEVELT.

In this case, the greatest era of American advancement, the Republican party, has reached its highest service under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. His administration is an epoch in American history.

In no other period since national sovereignty was won under Washington, or preserved under Lincoln, has there been such mighty progress in those ideals of government which make for justice, equality and fair dealing among men.

The highest aspirations of the American people have found a voice. Their most exalted servant represents the best aims and worthiest purposes of all his countrymen. American manhood has been lifted to a nobler sense of duty and obligation.

Conscience and courage in public station and the higher standards of right and wrong in private life have become cardinal principles of political faith; capital and labor have been brought into closer relations of confidence and inter-dependence; and the abuse of wealth, the tyranny of power and all the evils of privilege and favoritism have been put to scorn by the simple, manly virtues of justice and fair play.



The great accomplishments of President Roosevelt have been, first and foremost, a brave and impartial enforcement of the law; the prosecution of illegal trusts and monopolies; the exposure and punishment of evil-doers in the public service; the more effective regulation of the rates and service of preferences, rebates and discriminations; the arbitration of labor disputes; the amelioration of the condition of wage-workers everywhere, the conservation of the natural resources of the country; the forward step in the improvement of the inland waterways, and always the earnest support and defense of every wholesome safeguard which has made more secure the guarantee of life, liberty and property.

These are the achievements that will make for Theodore Roosevelt his place in history; but more than all else the great things he has done will be an inspiration to those who have yet greater things to do. We declare our unfaltering adherence to the policies thus inaugurated and pledge their continuance under a republican administration of the Government.

#### EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

Under the guidance of Republican principles the American people have become the richest nation in the world. Our wealth to-day exceeds that of England and all her colonies, and that of France and Germany combined.

When the Republican party was born the total wealth of the country was \$16,000,000,000. It has leaped to \$110,000,000,000 in a generation, while Great Britain has gathered but \$60,000,000,000 in five hundred years. The United States now owns one-fourth of the world's wealth and makes one-third of all modern manufactured products.

In the great necessities of civilization, such as coal, the motive power of all activity; iron, the chief basis of all industry; cotton, the staple foundation of all fabrics; wheat, corn and all the agricultural products that feed mankind, America's supremacy is undisputed.

And yet her great national wealth has been scarcely touched. We have a vast domain of 3,000,000 square miles, literally bursting with latent treasures, still waiting the magic of capital and industry to be converted to the practical uses of mankind; a country rich in soil and climate, in the unharnessed energy of its rivers and in all the

varied products of the field, forest and the factory. With gratitude for God's bounty, with pride in the splendid productiveness of the past, and with confidence in the plenty and prosperity of the future, the Republican party declares for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign there shall be equal opportunity for all.

#### REVIVAL OF BUSINESS.

Nothing so clearly demonstrates the sound basis upon which our commercial, industrial and agricultural interests are founded and the necessity of promoting their continued welfare through the operation of Republican policies, as the recent safe passage of the American people through a financial disturbance which, if appearing in the midst of Democratic rule or the menace of it, might have equaled the familiar Democratic panics of the past.

We congratulate the people upon this renewed evidence of American supremacy and hail with confidence the signs now manifest of a complete restoration of business prosperity in all lines of trade, commerce and manufacturing.

#### RECENT REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION.

Since the election of William McKinley, in 1896, the people of this country have felt anew the wisdom of entrusting to the Republican party through decisive majorities the control and direction of national legislation.

The many wise and progressive measures adopted at recent sessions of Congress have demonstrated the patriotic resolve of Republican leadership in the legislative department to keep step in the forward march toward better government.

Notwithstanding the indefensible filibustering of a Democratic minority in the House of Representatives during the last session, many wholesome and progressive laws were enacted, and we especially commend the passage of the emergency currency bill; the appointment of the national monetary commission; the employers and Government liability laws; the measure for the greater efficiency of the army and navy; the widows' pension bill; the child labor law for the District of Columbia; the new statutes for the safety of railroad engineers and firemen, and many other acts conserving the public welfare.

## REPUBLICAN PLEDGES FOR FUTURE.

**TARIFF.**—The Republican party declares unequivocally for a revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President, and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress which are now investigating the operation and effect of existing schedules.

In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries.

We favor the establishment of maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed in the law, the maximum to be available to meet discriminations by foreign countries against American goods entering their markets and the minimum to represent the normal measure of protection at home; the aim and purpose of the Republican policy being not only to preserve without excessive duties that security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage earners of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system.

Between the United States and the Philippines we believe in a free interchange of products with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests.

## CURRENCY.

We approve the emergency measures adopted by the Government during the recent financial disturbance, and especially commend the passage by Congress at the last session of the law designed to protect the country from a repetition of such stringency.

The Republican party is committed to the development of a permanent currency system, responding to our greater needs, and the appointment of the national monetary commission by the present Congress, which will impartially investigate all proposed methods, insures the early realization of this purpose.

The present currency laws have fully justified their adoption, but an expanding commerce, a marvelous growth in wealth and popula-



tion, multiplying the centers of distribution, increasing the demand for the movement of crops in the West and South, and entailing periodic changes in monetary conditions, disclose the need of a more elastic and adaptable system.

Such a system must meet the requirements of agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants and business men generally, must be automatic in operation, minimizing the fluctuations in interest rates, and above all, must be in harmony with that Republican doctrine which insists that every dollar shall be based upon and as good as gold.

#### POSTAL SAVINGS.

We favor the establishment of a postal savings bank system for the convenience of the people and the encouragement of thrift.

#### TRUSTS.

The Republican party passed the Sherman anti-trust law over Democratic opposition and enforced it after Democratic dereliction. It has been a wholesome instrument for good in the hands of a wise and fearless administration.

But experience has shown that its effectiveness can be strengthened and its real objects better attained by such amendments as will give to the Federal Government greater supervision and control over, and secure greater publicity in, the management of that class of corporations engaged in interstate commerce having power and opportunity to effect monopolies.

#### RAILROADS.

We approve the enactment of the railroad rate law and the vigorous enforcement by the present administration of the statutes against rebates and discriminations, as a result of which the advantages formerly possessed by the large shipper over the smaller shipper have substantially disappeared, and in this connection we commend the appropriation by the present Congress to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to thoroughly investigate, and give publicity to, the accounts of interstate railroads.

We believe, however, that the interstate commerce law should be further amended so as to give railroads the right to make and publish traffic agreements subject to the approval of the commission,

but maintaining always the principle of competition between naturally competing lines and avoiding the common control of such lines by any means whatsoever.

We favor such national legislation and supervision as will prevent the future overissue of stocks and bonds by interstate carriers.

#### RAILROAD AND GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

The enactment in constitutional form at the present session of Congress of the employers' liability law; the passage and enforcement of the safety appliance statutes, as well as the additional protection secured for engineers and firemen; the reduction in the hours of labor of trainmen and railroad telegraphers; the successful exercise of the powers of mediation and arbitration between interstate railroads and their employees, and the law making a beginning in the policy of compensation for injured employees of the government, are among the most commendable accomplishments of the present administration.

But there is further work in this direction yet to be done, and the Republican party pledges its continued devotion to every cause that makes for safety and the betterment of conditions among those whose labor contributes so much to the progress and welfare of the country.

#### WAGE-EARNERS GENERALLY.

The same wise policy which has induced the Republican party to maintain protection to American labor; to establish an eight-hour day in the construction of all public works, to increase the list of employees who shall have preferred claims for wages under the bankruptcy laws; to adopt a child labor statute for the District of Columbia; to direct an investigation into the condition of working women and children, and later of employees of telephone and telegraph companies engaged in interstate business; to appropriate \$150,000 at the recent session of Congress in order to secure a thorough inquiry into the causes of catastrophes and loss of life in the mines; and to amend and strengthen the law prohibiting the importation of contract labor, will be pursued in every legitimate direction within Federal authority to lighten the burdens and increase the opportunity for happiness and advancement of all who toil.

The Republican party recognizes the special needs of wage-workers generally, for their well being means the well being of all.

But more important than all other considerations is that of good citizenship, and we especially stand for the needs of every American, whatever his occupation, in his capacity as a self-respecting citizen.

#### THE ANTI-INJUNCTION PLANK.

The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, State and Federal, and will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in the Federal courts with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by statute and that no injunction, or temporary restraining order, should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.

#### THE AMERICAN FARMER.

Among those whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is that of the wage-earner is the American farmer. The prosperity of the country rests peculiarly upon the prosperity of agriculture. The Republican party during the last twelve years has accomplished extraordinary work in bringing the resources of the National Government to the aid of the farmer, not only in advancing agriculture itself, but in increasing the conveniences of rural free delivery.

Free rural mail delivery has been established; it now reaches millions of our citizens, and we favor its extension until every community in the land receives the full benefit of the postal service. We recognize the social and economic advantages of good country roads, maintained more and more largely at public expense, and less and less at the expense of the abutting owner.

In this work we commend the growing practice of State aid, and we approve the efforts of the National Agricultural Department by experiments and otherwise to make clear to the public the best methods of road construction.

#### RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO.

The Republican party has been for more than fifty years the consistent friend of the American colored man. It gave him freedom



and citizenship. It wrote into the organic law the declarations that proclaim his civil and political rights, and it believes to-day that his noteworthy progress in intelligence, industry and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the nation.

We demand equal justice for all men, without regard to race or color; we declare once more, and without reservation, for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution which were designed for the protection and advancement of the colored man, and we condemn all devices that have for their real aim his disfranchisement for reasons of color alone, as unfair, un-American and repugnant to the supreme law of the land.

#### NATURAL RESOURCES AND WATERWAYS.

We indorse the movement inaugurated by the administration for the conservation of natural resources; we approve all measures to prevent the waste of timber; we commend the work now going on for the reclamation of arid lands, and reaffirm the Republican policy of the free distribution of the available areas of the public domain to the landless settler. No obligation of the future is more insistent and none will result in greater blessings to posterity.

In line with this splendid undertaking is the further duty, equally imperative, to enter upon a systematic improvement upon a large and comprehensive plan, just to all portions of the country, of waterways, harbors, and great lakes, whose natural adaptability to the increasing traffic of the land is one of the greatest gifts of a benign providence.

#### THE ARMY AND NAVY.

The Sixtieth Congress passed many commendable acts increasing the efficiency of the army and navy; making the militia of the States an integral part of the national establishment; authorizing joint maneuvers of the army and militia; fortifying new naval bases and completing the construction of coaling stations; instituting a female nurse corps for naval hospitals and ships, and adding two new battleships, ten torpedo-boat destroyers, three steam colliers, and eight submarines to the strength of the navy.

Although at peace with all the world, and secure in the consciousness that the American people do not desire and will not pro-

voke a war with any other country, we nevertheless declare our unalterable devotion to a policy that will keep this republic ready at all times to defend her traditional doctrines and assure her appropriate part in promoting permanent tranquillity among the nations.

#### PROTECTION OF AMERICANS ABROAD.

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad.

It is the unquestioned duty of the government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

#### EXTENSION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Under the administration of the Republican party the foreign commerce of the United States has experienced a remarkable growth until it has a present annual valuation of approximately \$3,000,000,000, and gives employment to a vast amount of labor and capital which would otherwise be idle.

It has inaugurated, through the recent visit of the Secretary of State to South America and Mexico, a new era of pan-American commerce and comity which is bringing us into closer touch with our twenty sister American republics, having a common historical heritage, a republican form of government and offering us a limitless field of legitimate commercial expansion.

#### ARBITRATION.

The conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the great cause of international peace, so signally advanced in The Hague conferences, are an occasion for just pride and gratification.

At the last session of the Senate of the United States eleven Hague conventions were ratified, establishing the rights of neutrals, laws of war on land, restriction of submarine mines, limiting the use of force for the collection of contractual debts, governing the opening of hostilities, extending the application of Geneva principles and in many ways lessening the evils of war and promoting the peaceful settlement of international controversies.

At the same session twelve arbitration conventions with great nations were confirmed, and extradition, boundary and neutralization treaties of supreme importance were ratified. We indorse such achievements as the highest duty a people can perform and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of friendship and good will with all the nations of the world.

#### MERCHANT MARINE.

We adhere to the Republican doctrine of encouragement to American shipping and urge such legislation as will revive the merchant marine prestige of the country, so essential to national defense, the enlargement of foreign trade and the industrial prosperity of our own people.

#### VETERANS OF THE WARS.

Another Republican policy which must be ever maintained is that of generous provision for those who have fought the country's battles and for the widow and orphans of those who have fallen. We commend the increase in the widows' pensions made by the present Congress and declare for a liberal administration of all pension laws, to the end that the people's gratitude may grow deeper as the memories of heroic sacrifice grow more sacred with the passing years.

#### CIVIL SERVICE.

We reaffirm our former declarations that the civil service laws, enacted, extended and enforced by the Republican party, shall continue to be maintained and obeyed.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH.

We commend the efforts designed to secure greater efficiency in national public health agencies and favor such legislation as will effect this purpose.

#### BUREAU OF MINES AND MINING.

In the interest of the great mineral industries of our country we earnestly favor the establishment of a Bureau of Mines and Mining.



## THE COLONIES AND PANAMA.

The American Government, in Republican hands, has freed Cuba, given peace and protection to Porto Rico and the Philippines under our flag, and begun the construction of the Panama Canal. The present conditions in Cuba vindicate the wisdom of maintaining between that republic and this imperishable bonds of mutual interest, and the hope is now expressed that the Cuban people will soon again be ready to assume complete sovereignty over their land.

In Porto Rico the Government of the United States is meeting loyal and patriotic support; order and prosperity prevail and the well-being of the people is in every respect promoted and conserved.

We believe that the native inhabitants of Porto Rico should be at once collectively made citizens of the United States, and that all others properly qualified under existing laws residing in said island should have the privilege of becoming naturalized.

In the Philippines insurrection has been suppressed, law established and life and property made secure. Education and practical experience are there advancing the capacity of the people for government, and the policies of McKinley and Roosevelt are leading the inhabitants step by step to an ever increasing measure of home rule.

Time has justified the selection of the Panama route for the great isthmian canal, and events have shown the wisdom of securing authority over the zone through which it is to be built. The work is now progressing with a rapidity far beyond expectation, and already the realization of the hopes of centuries has come within the vision of the near future.

## NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA.

We favor the immediate admission of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate States in the Union.

## CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF LINCOLN.

February 12, 1909, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, an immortal spirit whose fame has brightened with the receding years, and whose name stands among the first of those given to the world by the great republic. We recommend that this centennial anniversary be celebrated throughout the confines

of the nation, by all the people thereof; and especially by the public schools, as an exercise to stir the patriotism of the youth of the land.

#### DEMOCRATIC INCAPACITY.

We call the attention of the American people to the fact that none of the great measures here advocated by the Republican party could be enacted and none of the steps forward here proposed could be taken, under a Democratic administration or under one in which party responsibility is divided.

The continuance of present policies, therefore, absolutely requires the continuance in power of that party which believes in them and which possesses the capacity to put them into operation.

#### FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES.

Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between the Republican party and its chief opponent which make the one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust.

In history, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one stood for debased currency, the other for honest currency; the one for free silver, the other for sound money; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for the contraction of American influence, the other for its expansion; the one has been forced to abandon every position taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

In experience, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one means adversity, while the other means prosperity; one means low wages, the other means high; one means doubt and debt, the other means confidence and thrift.

In principle, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stands for vacillation and timidity in government, the other for strength and purpose; one stands for obstruction, the other for construction; one promises, the other performs; one finds fault, the other finds work.

The present tendencies of the two parties are even more marked by inherent differences. The trend of Democracy is toward socialism, while the Republican party stands for a wise and regulated individualism.

Socialism would destroy wealth. Republicanism would prevent

its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take, Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn; Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess, Republicanism would give equality of opportunity which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possessions.

In line with this tendency the Democratic party of to-day believes in government ownership, while the Republican party believes in government regulation. Ultimately Democracy would have the nation own the people, while Republicanism would have the people own the nation.

Upon this platform of principles and purposes, reaffirming our adherence to every Republican doctrine proclaimed since the birth of the party, we go before the country, asking the support not only of those who have acted with us heretofore, but of all our fellow-citizens who, regardless of past political differences, unite in the desire to maintain the policies, perpetuate the blessings and make secure the achievements of a greater America.



## CHAPTER VII.

### WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT,

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1908.

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"BIG, BRAUNY AND BRAINY" is a characteristic phrase that has often been applied to William H. Taft by his friends and admirers. Dr. Lyman Abbott, in the "Outlook," improves upon this statement by adding to the above that very important "heart quality" for which the Republican candidate is equally noted—"BIG OF BODY, BIG OF BRAIN, BIG OF HEART." This is the phrase that best characterizes the standard-bearer of his party, and the long-time personal friend and choice of President Roosevelt.

Mr. Taft was nominated on the first ballot by the convention in Chicago, June 18th, receiving 702 votes—the highest number received by any opposing candidate being less than 100. His nomination was promptly made unanimous. A general expression of satisfaction on the part of those who opposed him was immediately and enthusiastically spoken. Those who were his opponents one hour before were now, in their party loyalty, his friends. Abounding confidence was universally expressed that he would triumphantly carry the Republican banner to victory in November.

Perhaps no candidate ever came before the nation for the Presidency with a more pleasing personality than William H. Taft. This, coupled with his long training, his familiarity with all subjects now confronting the nation, his broad-mindedness and the confidence which the people have both in his integrity and his ability, augment his prospects for election by making certain a large vote, outside of the strict partisan following which he commands.

Regardless of party, and even regardless of Mr. Roosevelt's complimentary statement, the people know that William H. Taft is an American of Americans; and that, both by native ability and training,

he is peculiarly enabled to grapple with the problems of American life and American policy. He is Western by birth, but a New Englander by ancestry, and a whole American, without sectionalism, by practice. He is a patriot, rather than a partisan. He is a friend of labor and a friend of capital—opposed to injustice from either side. Those who know him best believe he will stand as a bulwark between labor and capital, administering the laws of the land, with favor toward none and with justice toward all, and that his well-known diplomatic skill and ability will do much to allay the strife and bitterness between employer and employee, to reconcile them as necessary to one another, and to unite them in a permanent co-operation and friendship.

The progressive spirit was born with William H. Taft, and his career has been one of steady and substantial progress and growth. His father, Alphonso Taft, was one of those early pioneers who left New England for the Middle West some seventy years ago and carried into the then wilderness the standards of learning and civilization. The elder Taft was graduated from Yale in 1833, and soon after went to Ohio and settled in Cincinnati. His rise at the bar was rapid. He became one of the recognized leaders of his profession, so that in 1865 he was made a judge of the Superior Court of the State of Ohio. He became Secretary of War, under President Grant, in 1875, and the following year he was made Attorney-General of the United States. He represented his country at the capital of Austria from 1883 to 1885, when he was appointed Minister to Russia. In these high offices, Alphonso Taft acquitted himself with distinction and proved his usefulness to his country. The son, then, comes by legitimate birthright to his high legal and executive talents.

For carrying out and enforcing the anti-trust laws of 1890, William H. Taft has been through an especially competent fitting-school, as it were, ever since his boyhood. He was a Yale man of the class of 1878, where he stood second in scholarship and was the salutatorian and class orator. His warm personality, his keen sense of justice, his genial love for his fellows are duly remembered at New Haven, especially now that these qualities are again necessarily to the front, through his commanding position as the leading candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

Having the blood of his father in his veins, it was natural that the law should call young Taft with an irresistible command. Indeed,

it was quite a matter of course that he should study the profession which had so long interested him, and we find him admitted to the bar of the Superior Court of Ohio in 1880. His intellect, his vigor and his keenness brought him to the front with great rapidity. Only a year after his admission he was appointed assistant prosecuting attorney for the County of Hamilton. He was made collector of internal revenue for the first district of Ohio by President Arthur, but not even political preferment could swerve him from his chosen profession of law, and within the next half decade he had become one of the leading attorneys of his State and district.

Then came the appointment as judge of the Superior Court of Ohio to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Judson Harmon, and, although Mr. Taft made financial sacrifices in so doing, he accepted the position. It has always been his attitude that public service and the honor that attaches thereto should be more to an American citizen than a mere question of gain. He did not finish this term, however, for President Harrison appointed him Solicitor-General of the United States in 1890.

William H. Taft's career in this position of extending influence was remarkably brilliant. As a special pleader for "Uncle Sam" he won triumphs in different cases and against odds such as raised him to fame within a brief period. There was the Behring Sea fisheries case, for instance. Although the vast majority of our people may have forgotten the principles involved therein, it is sufficient to say that the battle won by William H. Taft, against lawyers of great eminence both of this country and England, stands to-day as one of the notable achievements of American jurisprudence. And Mr. Taft had many other successes, perhaps not as widely famed nor as important, but still sufficient to bring out the mettle of the man and to show the high order of legal mind he possessed. After two years in this position Mr. Taft was appointed by President Harrison as judge of the United States Circuit Court in the sixth judicial district. Here, as in other positions, he acquitted himself with great credit, and won the confidence and respect of the bar. Many of his opinions stand to-day as models of lucidity, research, learning and a keen sense of justice. We cite the following as illustrative of this fact:

"In considering Mr. Taft's admirable qualifications for carrying out the 'square deal' policy of Roosevelt's administration, it is inter-



esting to know that as judge of the sixth judicial district he made one of the earliest and most effective decisions given by an American judge against a trust. This was against the Addyston Pipe and Steel Company, *et al.* The facts of the case were these: six corporations, with plants for manufacturing cast-iron pipes in four States in the South and Middle West, had entered into a conspiracy in restraint of trade and contrary to the provisions of the Act of Congress of 1890, "protecting trade and commerce against unlawful restraint and monopolies." Judge Taft's careful and exhaustive decision reviewed the antecedent case, explained the Act of 1890 in so far as it applied to the case at bar, which he brought strongly under the statute and destroyed the combination while enjoining the parties from carrying out their illegal contracts.

That was but one of the several highly important cases decided by Judge Taft bearing upon the great question of restraint of monopolies, which now seems to be and is one of the fundamental issues of the day. Surely a man with such training, with such temperament, with such a sense of the justice due high and low alike, is above all fitted for the carrying forward of the present policies in a calm, dignified and wholly impartial way.

Mr. Taft's alma mater, recognizing the distinguished services and conspicuous ability as a lawyer and judge, of one of her sons, conferred upon him in 1893 the degree of Doctor of Laws. In 1896 he was made professor and dean of the Department of Law in the University of Cincinnati.

It is a notable fact that since 1900 Mr. Taft has three times been offered a seat on the Supreme Bench of the United States, the highest judicial honor in the nation; but, because of public duties, that he had then undertaken and could not conscientiously dismiss at the time, he felt it his duty to decline.

#### MR. TAFT'S POLITICAL CAREER.

There is no more natural step in public life than that which is taken by the lawyer when he turns to statesmanship. The very nature of his calling fits him for it; his ambition too often prompts him to it; and those who love their profession above all else, and would, from choice, adhere to it, are often induced by their countrymen or high officials to surrender a lucrative practice to take upon themselves some

political duty in answer to what is urged as their country's service. Such was the case with Mr. Taft.

#### MADE GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES.

In 1900, President McKinley, who well knew Mr. Taft's qualities of mind and heart, asked him to leave his judgeship and deanship to become president of the United States Philippine Commission. It was the demanding of a great sacrifice. A pleasant and profitable life in his native land must be abandoned and a career of extraordinary difficulty and delicacy must be taken up. There were the hard problems of organizing a civil government and developing civilization among the Filipinos, with their multitudinous tribes and dialects, their eighty per cent illiteracy and their undemocratic habits born of many years' subjection under a despotic government. For a year he studied exhaustively every detail of the gigantic task allotted him, planned the work of organizing and civilizing the people, with consummate tact and far-sighted statesmanship, and the following year was made the first Civil Governor of the islands. He succeeded in establishing a civilization and a government that outclass the work of any one governmental administrator ever sent from Europe into the Far East. Here were seen for the first time his unsurpassed powers as a wise administrator, a constructive statesman, and a diplomat of the highest order. A mere cataloguing of the results under the administration he instituted and moulded surpasses the record of any similar achievements of any living man in the same period of time. The list is too long for insertion here. Mr. Taft's report of April 23, 1904, states succinctly the work done in the Philippines up to the time and contains thirty-six pages of printed matter in public document form, each page crammed with the facts of achievements, in all of which he had the leading responsibility and a commanding part. Under him were established a central government, forty provincial governments, 623 municipal governments, a complete judicial system, an efficient civil service, new educational facilities that to-day care for over half a million scholars with over five thousand Filipino teachers and less than one thousand American teachers, an independent and stable monetary system, additional banks, a constabulary of seven thousand men, well organized, adapted and competent, an enlarged postal and telegraph service, new and better roads, a revenue-produc-

ing forestry service, a mining bureau, and an agricultural bureau that are fast developing these resources of the islands; a weather bureau service, and in short every factor of governmental activity that makes for the advancement of a people in civilization. Tariff laws and customs were instituted, a census was taken, foreign commerce was increased over one hundred and fifty per cent during the first five years of American occupation, harbor improvements started on an extensive scale, sanitation of the centers of population was vigorously enhanced and the general health improved.

#### THE PURCHASE OF THE FRIARS' LANDS.

Governor Taft returned to the United States in 1901, at the request of the Secretary of War, and for six weeks gave his testimony as to the conditions then existing in the islands, before the Senate Committee on the Philippines and the House Committee on Insular Affairs. In the spring following, by request of the President and Secretary of War, he sailed for Rome to confer with Pope Leo XIII concerning the agricultural lands of religious orders in the Philippines. Out of that conference came the settlement of what at one time threatened to be a most difficult and perplexing question. The friars' lands were purchased and devoted to industrial uses. Some four hundred and ten thousand acres of agricultural lands were transferred to the Philippine Government. The church and the friars were satisfied, the people of the Philippines were pleased, a complex problem had been solved, a delicate situation had been removed, and an American statesman had done a great service and won a diplomatic triumph.

#### BECOMES SECRETARY OF WAR AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF CUBA.

He returned to the Philippines in 1902 and resumed the duties of his office as Governor. The following year President Roosevelt appointed him Secretary of War, and he entered on his work as a member of the Cabinet in February, 1904. In the fall he visited Panama to confer with the Panama authorities upon questions arising with reference to the government of the Canal Zone, and two years later, under the direction of the President, he visited Cuba for the purpose of arranging peace, and acted for a short period as the Provincial Governor of that island. The ability to grasp a situation cor-



rectly, to see things in their right proportions, to induce men to forget fancied wrongs and to act for the promotion of the common interest, which was so strongly characteristic of Mr. Taft's administration in the Philippines, was again exhibited during his short administration in Cuba, which resulted in securing peace and continued prosperity to that new republic.

Besides the peaceful settlement of an incipient revolution in Cuba, the adjustment of relations with the new government of Panama, and the routine of the War Department, he has been concerned in the improvement of rivers and harbors, the development of Porto Rico, the policy to be pursued in regard to Hawaii and the temporary administration of the State Department. Incidentally he was the real power that smashed one of the most perfect of the corrupt political rings in any city in America.

#### TOUR ROUND THE WORLD.

Last year he went on a special mission to Japan, China, Russia and the Philippines, and made a tour of the world, being everywhere received with enthusiastic manifestations of admiration and esteem. His second report on the Philippines, published in January, 1908, is a monument of painstaking and effective investigation, and the facts brought down to date afford a new demonstration of the strength and wisdom of the work he did as Commissioner and Governor in developing civilization, preparing the people for self-government, training them in the exercise of its rights and duties, and laying the foundations of the new republic of the Pacific, the history of which marks an epoch in the dealings of the stronger nations with the weaker and sets a new and higher standard which, sooner or later, as the sentiments of justice and humanity develop in the world, the Powers will be compelled to follow.

Thus we have—briefly outlined—a bird's-eye view of William H. Taft in professional and public life, that will enable the voter to estimate the power and capacity of the candidate for the taking up and successfully carrying of the burden, soon to be laid down by the strenuous and aggressive Theodore Roosevelt, whose policy and measures he is expected by the people to carry out; and which he is personally desirous of doing so far as the interests of the country at large shall demand. For further information concerning Mr. Taft see account of "The Republican Convention" and the speeches.

## CHAPTER VIII.

JAMES SCHOOLCRAFT SHERMAN,

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT, 1908.

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The final session of the Republican National Convention was held on the morning of June 19th for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Vice-President. It was a short session, lasting only one hour. The selection for the Vice-President had been agreed upon by the party leaders the night previous. The two most prominent aspirants for the office were Governor Cummins, of Iowa, and Hon. James S. Sherman, of New York. The minority, "favorite son" forces of the convention, pleaded that as the Taft supporters had nominated the President and had everything practically their own way thus far, they should allow them to name the Vice-President. The administration force, in the interest of harmony, gracefully yielded to the minority, and Mr. Sherman was nominated on the first ballot with a vote of 816—being larger than that which Secretary Taft himself had received. Others who received votes were Governor Guild, of Massachusetts, seventy-five, and ex-Governor Franklin Murphy, of New Jersey, seventy-seven.

Mr. Sherman, the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency, has long and faithfully served the party in New York in various capacities, as well as in the Congress of the nation for more than twenty years. He is a noted lawyer, a politician of shrewdness and a statesman of ability. One of the interesting facts in Mr. Sherman's history is that he was a Democrat until about 1876, when, after going as a delegate from Oneida County to a Democratic state convention, he renounced Democracy and embraced the tenets of Republicanism. All of his brothers are Democrats still; but for more than thirty years the Vice-Presidential nominee has been a staunch Republican and yielded yeoman service continually in the ranks of his party. He

was seriously considered for the Vice-Presidency in 1900 by Mark Hanna and other leaders.

Like the head of the ticket, Mr. Sherman is a man of large physical proportions. He is not so tall as Mr. Taft, but his circumference is ample. He gives the impression of weighing perhaps 225 pounds.

The running mates are nearly the same age (Mr. Taft was born September 17, 1857), Mr. Sherman being graduated from Hamilton College, New York, the same year that Mr. Taft was graduated from Yale.

Like Mr. Taft, Mr. Sherman has been in politics from his youth. He, too, is a lawyer, but he has never held judicial office. He has, however, been almost continuously an officeholder for twenty-four years, having started as Mayor of Utica, N. Y., two years before Mr. Taft was married out in Cincinnati, although Mr. Sherman had then been married three years.

Both when in office and when temporarily out of it, he has been almost constantly mentioned for some other office until the process culminated with the mention of his name for the Vice-Presidential candidacy in the spring of 1908 and his nomination at the Chicago convention.

Mr. Sherman was born on October 24, 1855, at Utica, where he has lived ever since. His father was Richard U. Sherman. He was graduated from Hamilton College in 1878, and two years later was admitted to the bar. In 1881 he married Miss Carrie Babcock, of New York. He has continued his law practice throughout his political career, and in addition he is now president of the Utica Trust and Deposit Company and of the New Hartford Canning Company.

#### WAS MAYOR OF UTICA.

He was elected Mayor of Utica in 1884, and in 1892 was sent as a delegate to the Republican National Convention. He was chairman of the Republican State Conventions of 1895, 1900 and 1908. Previously, in 1887, he had been elected to the Fiftieth Congress, and he has been since a member of the Fifty-first, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, Fifty-eighth, Fifty-ninth and Sixtieth Congresses. In 1903 Hamilton College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

While Sherman was chairman of the State convention in 1900 he



was for several days a close rival of Theodore Roosevelt for the nomination to the Vice-Presidency, and Mark Hanna at one time looked favorably upon the suggestion of his name for the nomination.

Mr. Sherman came most widely into national repute when, in 1906, he became chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee in charge of the campaign.

#### WAS CAMPAIGN "COLLECTOR."

It was in that campaign that he earned the sobriquet "Send Your Dollar Jim," or "Dollar Jim," as the solicitor and recipient of the dollar contributions, which, at President Roosevelt's suggestion, were sought among the people generally at that time, when so much was being said in criticism of great campaign contributions by the big corporations. Sherman succeeded in the chairmanship of that committee Representative Babcock, of Wisconsin.

#### IS FRIEND OF ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Sherman has long been prominent in national campaigns. He was a warm and admiring friend of Thomas B. Reed, and during Mr. Reed's speakership Mr. Sherman presided over the House of Representatives oftener than any other member. Mr. Sherman has also for years been a stout friend and admirer of President Roosevelt, and he was recorded as one of the most urgent of third termers.

It was to him that the President's "My Dear Sherman" letters were addressed, in which Mr. Roosevelt seated Edward H. Harriman in the front row of the Ananias Club.

Representative Malby, of New York, in booming Sherman for the place on the ticket which he now holds, said of him: "Sherman would be popular with the boys—the fellows who do the work at the polls. Both he and Taft are of gentle temperament, magnetic and good speakers."

## CHAPTER IX.

### WHY TAFT SHOULD BE ELECTED.

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BY HON. SAMUEL L. POWERS.

One of the Massachusetts Senators issued before the Republican Convention of 1908 a statement in which he made use of the following expression: "The next Republican National Convention will, without doubt, be the most important convention held since 1864."

We all know the real issue at stake then, that it was the renomination of President Lincoln; that his renomination would be the endorsement of his policies for the preservation of the Union, whatever the cost of blood and treasure, and the permanent settlement of the right of any State to secede from the Union. If the Senator was right in his opinion that the latest Presidential convention of the Republican party had a similar responsibility to that of 1864, we are indeed at one of those historic cross-roads in public affairs.

The real issue of this Presidential campaign seems to be, as in 1864, whether the policies of the present administration are to be substantially carried out for the next four years. If such is the will of the American people it is for them to select a candidate whom they deem best qualified to carry on the work. In fact, this is the main issue—"Shall these policies be carried out?" In the presence of this momentous question we should not allow personal preferences to guide us or to warp our judgment; we should look entirely to this paramount, main issue.

It will, without doubt, be conceded that no candidate can be elected by either party who does not stand in the main for the policies of the present administration.

Now, what are the main policies of the present administration, the continuance of which the American people insist upon? They may be divided into two classes: first, those policies which relate to the enforcement of the provisions of the Act of Congress of 1890,

"protecting trade and commerce against unlawful restraint and monopolies," and enforcement of the statutes relating to the same subject which have subsequently been enacted by Congress; second, the continuance of what is commonly called our "Philippine policy," but which should properly be termed our "Pacific policy."

The first class has been termed the "square deal" policy and has for its purpose the enforcement of law without discrimination, against both the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor. In other words, it has for its purpose the enforcement of law in such manner that all shall stand alike before the majesty of the law and that all shall receive equal protection and be subject to equal restraint.

The second class, or our "Pacific policy," did not originate with the present administration. It dates back more than forty years to the acquisition of Alaska. No American statesman is more responsible for the inauguration of that policy than Secretary Seward. This policy, accurately forecast and inaugurated by Secretary Seward as our "Pacific policy," forty years ago, has been steadily pursued as circumstances have arisen since that time: the commercial reciprocity treaty with Hawaii, followed by its annexation to the United States; the development of Alaska and the settlement of its boundaries; the acquisition of Samoa for our navy in the South Pacific; the acquisition of the Philippines ten years ago, and of Guam as a naval station midway from Hawaii—these are the monumental milestones planted along the line of our "Pacific policy," which has for its purpose the control of the Pacific in the twentieth century.

If there had been no Asia beyond the Pacific, this policy would never have been adopted, nor would there have been any undertaking upon the part of the United States to construct the Panama Canal and to control the Atlantic approaches by our position at Porto Rico and Cuba. In a word, this "Pacific policy" has compelled us to abandon our international isolation and to become a world-power.

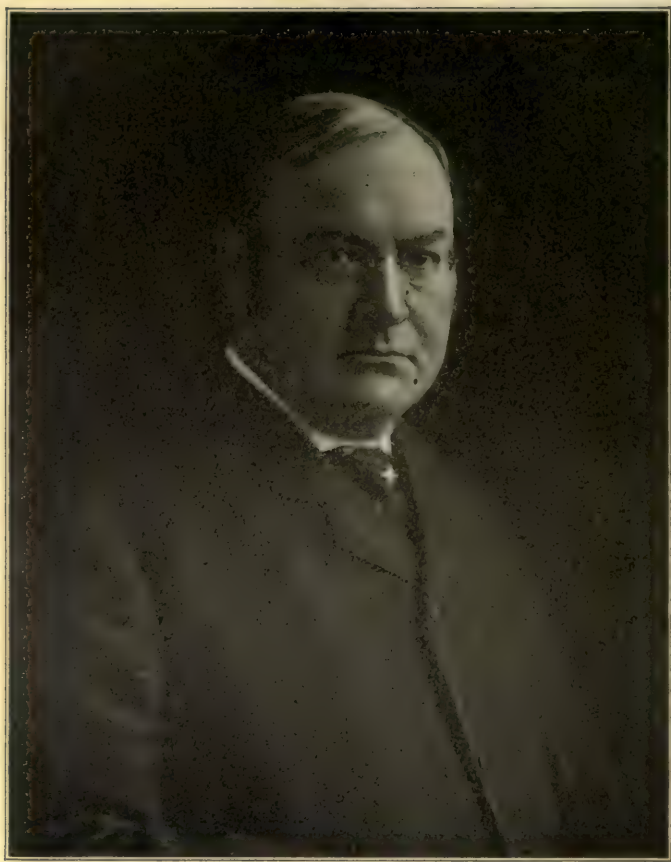
The American people to-day stand committed to all these policies. In the first place, they insist upon the reasonable enforcement of existing statutes, to the end that all persons shall have equal protection of the laws and that there shall be no discrimination, by reason of non-enforcement, in the real activities of commercial life. Our people also believe that the welfare and the prosperity of this country during the coming century are largely dependent upon the position which we are to take in the Far East.





**WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT**

**Republican Nominee for President of the United States.**



JAMES SCHOOLCRAFT SHERMAN

Republican Nominee for Vice-President of the United States.

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We have become one of the great manufacturing nations of the world. By the census of 1890 our manufactured production was approximately \$9,000,000,000; by the census of 1900 it had increased to \$13,000,000,000. Since 1900 our manufactured production has increased at a rate heretofore unprecedented, and probably at the present time it amounts to about \$18,000,000,000 a year. This production is far beyond what is required by our people for their own consumption. It therefore follows that we must have foreign markets for our surplus manufactures, and, failing to obtain such markets, we are confronted by one of two alternatives, either to reduce the manufactured production or reduce the wages of the operative. This brings us face to face with the conflict between labor and capital, the conflict which faces every manufacturing country of Europe more acutely than as yet it has come to us. One of the main purposes of our Pacific policy is to obtain our share of the unappropriated foreign markets in China and the Far East. As Secretary Taft recently defined our position in the Pacific, "We are temporarily, it may be, and still are an Asiatic power. . . . That puts us in a position where our voice in Asia becomes much more influential than ever before; we have in Asia interests for our commerce that we must stand by."

I sincerely believe that no well-informed American, even he who comes from within one of the charmed circles of "favorite sons," would deny that in experience, temperament and ability—or perhaps in a combination of all three—no other aspirant for the Presidency can compare with Mr. Taft. To the highest degree he possesses these qualifications. A part of them, indeed, are the gifts of nature and personality, and another and fully as important a part has been obtained in the effective school of experience. It has been said that no one since John Quincy Adams has possessed in such full measure the mental requisites and the varied training and experience calculated and best fitted for the conduct of the highest office in the gift of the nation. That is a long look backwards, and yet it is in no sense an exaggeration of the facts.

In the first place, William H. Taft is an American of Americans, and thus is he peculiarly enabled to grapple with the problems of American life and American policies. The good blood of New England, the staunch stock that came down from Puritan days, through



the Revolutionary and the later wars, is his by inheritance. An ancestor on his mother's side was colonel of a regiment in the battle of Saratoga, and there are other collateral forefathers who distinguished themselves in the service of their country on the field.

(Mr. Powers here reviews the remarkable foreign diplomatic service of Mr. Taft as well as important judicial decisions at home, which we omit because the same ground is covered in the life sketch found in Chapter VII.)

I have stated my belief that no man in America, surely no man from out the galaxy of the Republican aspirants, is so magnificently fitted for the carrying forward of our "Pacific" policy as is William H. Taft. I can conceive of no possible dispute on this subject. His record speaks for itself. . . . In the face of such a record, with success writ large upon its every achievement, who can possibly doubt that Mr. Taft is the man, not only for the day at hand, but for the days that are to come? With his vast knowledge of Oriental traits and desires, with his kindly sense of justice, with his firm insistence upon the rights and dignity of the American nation, it seems to me he is the one man for the handling of the highly delicate problems which must confront us along our western coast and far into the islands of the Pacific. No American of the present has had so varied and complete a training in that diplomacy and statecraft that are bound to count for so much during the next four years. No man who has not actually been President has ever had so direct and definite, so specific an acquaintance and preparation for the duties of that office.

I do not think that Mr. Taft seeks the high office of President merely for the glory and power that inhere in that exalted position. His ambitions now, as they ever have been, are of the highest type. From the earliest point of his career he has manifestly striven to serve the public rather than to exalt himself. He has several times deliberately chosen to remain in a humble position and at small pay rather than to give his splendid intellect to the service of private interests at many times the financial returns. Time and again he has declined offers of legal partnership wherein a certain road to wealth was opened up. Time and again have his legal talents been sought by great aggregations of brains and capital, but he has ever put the temptation behind him with the single thought that the service of one's country is, after all, the highest duty of its citizens. Twice has he

received an offer of a seat on the Supreme Bench of the United States, a position which only a few, even from out the most eminent of the lawyers and judges of the land, can ever hope to reach; but in spite of the fact that a judgeship in that exalted court has been one of his cherished life ambitions, Mr. Taft put it aside because his sense of duty called him at the time to a different service, which he believed the public interest demanded of him. That is the kind of man whom the people of this country may well delight to honor.

Discussing Mr. Taft's adaptability for the carrying out of our policies in the Far East, one predominant trait of his must not be forgotten, and that is his kindly and highly judicial temperament. Although he will maintain to the fullest degree the proper rights of the United States in whatever international question may arise, yet it must also be considered that he will not rush into difficulties; that he will not antagonize statesmen of other powers; that he will not furnish even the slightest pretext for the belligerently inclined to work upon. He will still have the mailed fist, but its grip will ever be concealed under the glove of velvet. William H. Taft is "safe" in all that the word implies. Furthermore, his personal acquaintance with so many of the great men of foreign countries, his popularity in the chancelleries of Europe, is in itself a guarantee against foreign entanglements of any sort.

I believe that William H. Taft is one of the truest friends in high position the wage-earners in this country possess. To be sure, he is a foe to law-breaking, whether it be done in the name of labor or of capital, but in so far as the rights and advantages of the workingman of this country are concerned he is and always has been found upon the side of those who toil when that side could be taken with justice. I have heard it hinted that Mr. Taft is hostile to the best interests of the wage-earner. No man who has followed his legal career, no man who has read his luminous and justice-dealing decisions as a judge, no man who has read his recent Cooper Union speech in New York could possibly make such a charge as that without a feeling of insincerity. Everything that Mr. Taft has said and written shows that he realizes that law-abiding labor has its proper prerogative and that the happiness of the great mass of the working people of this country is absolutely necessary for the advancement and best interests of our land.

It is Mr. Taft's eminence as a harmonizer which will, I believe, make him one of the great and useful Presidents of the United States. His temperament is beautifully adapted to the holding of the high office which his friends believe he is destined to fill. There can be no question that where William H. Taft sits will be the head of the table, and though he may surround himself with a cabinet of exalted ability and with advisers of power, there will and must be no doubt that Mr. Taft will be his own President. And yet, as I have stated, the genial and gracious nature of the man will make all his dealings with the thousands of other men who must come in contact with him so gracious and so void of offense that there can be little possibility of friction in the carrying on of the national government and only the highest liking and respect for the man who will have been chosen servant, and not the "ruler," of our eighty millions of citizens.

One striking peculiarity of the adaptability of Mr. Taft is that he is endorsed by so many various interests of the land. There is no secret, of course, that President Roosevelt regards him as the man best calculated to carry on the past policies for which the name of our great President stands. So he is naturally liked, therefore, by all the tremendously powerful elements of our citizens that hold up the hands of Mr. Roosevelt and bid him godspeed in whatever he undertakes. On the other hand the great financial interests favor him. It is recognized that while he is already committed to the prosecution of those reforms that have already taken some of the unworthy combinations of capital by the throat, he is not the man to make any unjust attack upon those financial and industrial interests which are maintained with honesty and good faith. People believe in him because they know that he will honestly and energetically enforce the laws against evil wherever found; the vital financial interests of the country believe in him because they are sure that his enforcement of law will be reasonable and just and all that the best interests of our whole nation demand. Hence it may be said that the moral forces of the land are with Mr. Taft. . . . If elected he will, without question, prove himself, as he has proved himself upon all other occasions, to be a typical American, high minded, able and serving the people with their single interest before his eyes.



## CHAPTER X.

### THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1908.

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July 7, 1908, at Denver, marked the opening of the National Convention of the Democratic party. In the rightful possession of its name, the Democratic party is the oldest active party now in existence. By this is meant that along the lines forming the basis of its policy it reaches back farther into the years than any of the present-day parties. It has taken especial pride in calling itself the Jeffersonian Party, the States' Rights Party, and, as its name indicates, the party which believes supremely in the rule of the people. It is very nearly the same party in principle that supported Andrew Jackson in 1828 and 1832, Martin Van Buren in 1836, James K. Polk in 1844, Franklin Pierce in 1852 and James Buchanan in 1856, who was the last Democratic President until the election of Grover Cleveland in 1884 and again in 1892. Cleveland made "*free trade*" the great slogan of modern democracy and fought for it as the one potent anti-trust remedy of which the country stood in greatest need up to the date of his death, June 24, 1908.

In *ante-bellum* days the watchword of the Democratic party was States' rights. With this cry they waged a continual war against the encroachments of the federal government upon the sovereignty of the individual States. Under such leaders as John C. Calhoun it was practically insisted that the sovereignty of the State was superior to the sovereignty of the nation. That, as the States voluntarily entered the Union for mutual protection and benefit, so each State had a right to withdraw from the Union, when its own constitution or the best interest and happiness of its people should dictate the wisdom of such a policy. Such leaders as Andrew Jackson, while holding strong to the States' rights principles as they are understood to-day, did not sympathize with the Calhoun wing of the party in these extreme views. In fact, when secession was threatened during the administration of

Jackson, he delivered expressions indicative of the sentiment that the government had a right to force seceding States back into the Union.

It therefore appears that the doctrine of the right of States to secede, which finally resulted in the great Civil War, while it may have been implied and was certainly not forbidden in the Constitution, while it was a tenet of a large portion of the Democratic party, and was held in the North (where the first threat of secession really occurred), was not a universally accepted or advocated principle among Democrats of olden times. The Democratic party cannot therefore be successfully charged with being the party of secession any more than the Republican party can be accredited with having been formed for the purpose of preventing secession. In later times it is almost universally acknowledged among the greatest of our historians that slavery, while it was not the direct cause, was certainly the indirect cause of the great civil strife, on both sides of which leading Democrats and Republicans allied themselves according to the dictates of their patriotic duty, as they saw it.

The only reason why the South should have remained so solidly Democratic and the Republican party should have predominated in the North was due to the fact of the sectional animosity which grew out of the war and the days of reconstruction which succeeded it. The North having been victorious under a Republican administration, naturally turned its loyalty, in the flush of its success, toward that party, much more largely than it would otherwise have done. The South having been defeated and subsequently suffering so severely, in the reconstruction days under Republican rule, naturally regarded that party as its enemy; and (with the exception of the blacks, who became almost universally Republican out of a spirit of gratitude for their freedom to the party of Abraham Lincoln) the South became solidly Democratic and has so remained.

Almost half a century has elapsed since the great fraternal strife of 1861 to 1865, and patriotic voters of both North and South are rapidly dismissing the war from their political consideration, and are studying the issues at stake—the principles and platforms of the parties—as they are to-day in the light of modern requirements, and are patriotically casting their votes upon principle to a greater extent than has been done at any time since the old days when Andrew Jackson was the popular hero of both North and South.

It must be said that, with all the sectionalism which may have been forced into the Southern vote by the conditions above referred to, the South has always carried with it the true Jeffersonian principles of democracy. And now, that the days of slavery are so long past, and that interstate commerce and the facilities of transportation have bound the country so closely and intimately together, that every State regards itself as a part of the great Union with no desire for separation whatever its constitutional rights may be; since the Spanish-American War has revealed the fact to every voter of the North that the loyalty of the South to the flag of the nation equals, in every respect, if indeed it does not excel, the loyalty of the North; since these things are true, sectionalism may be moved largely if not entirely out of the way of the principles of Democracy, leaving them free and undisturbed to permeate the mind and heart of the nation. Much has already been accomplished in that direction. Perhaps more than one-half of the staunch Democrats of the United States are to-day found north of the Mason and Dixon Line. The discussion of the great industrial questions of the day brings the principles of real democracy prominently and intelligently to the knowledge of all voters, and in this lies the hope of the ultimate triumph of the Democratic party.

#### THE CONVENTION.

The exact number of delegates to the convention was 1,002, but in the section reserved for the delegates, which was in front of the rostrum, there were 1,072 seats. This is accounted for by the fact that several States selected twice their allotted number of delegates, giving each a half vote. The section for alternates had 1,002 seats, no additions having been made by States that doubled their delegations.

Admission to the convention was only by ticket. Officers and attaches of the convention and newspaper correspondents were required to wear badges and present tickets. Tickets admitted only at entrances designated. Upon each was printed the letter of an entrance, and for the public, the number of the section where the holder must sit.

In the location of the delegations, Nebraska, the State of W. J. Bryan, was squarely in front of the rostrum, with Indiana and Texas in front at the left and Alabama at the right. New York was right behind Nebraska and Illinois behind Indiana and Texas.



## THE FIRST DAY OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Amid carloads of beautiful snow brought down from the mountains and piled in heaps around the convention hall and in the new mammoth auditorium, the best in the world for its purpose, with cheers from 12,000 throats, with political oratory and the inspiring spectacle of a vast multitude, the Democratic National Convention began its deliberations at noon, July 7th.

The first session, lasting a little more than two hours, was notable for its impressive magnitude and spectacular effects. It gave, however, the opportunity for the awakening echoes of convention enthusiasm, the keynote speech of the temporary presiding officer, Theodore A. Bell, of California; a heated skirmish incidental to the contest in the Pennsylvania delegation and finally a unanimous tribute of homage and respect to the memory of the late Grover Cleveland.

But the enthusiasm of the opening session was comparatively brief. The day was devoted chiefly to the primary formalities, and the committees were appointed for perfecting the permanent organization.

The doors of the hall were unbarred at 11.10 o'clock, fully one hour before the gavel of National Chairman Taggart was scheduled to fall as the signal for the beginning of the initial session.

A new feature of the convention arrangements was a battery of four automatic adding machines such as banking and large business establishments use. These were provided for the tallying and speedy and accurate result of the balloting.

An oil painting of Mr. Cleveland faced the rostrum, having a position of honor second only to that of Thomas Jefferson.

A feature of the seating arrangements, new in political conventions, was the labeling of all seats. Every chair carried on its back a small placard bearing the name of the State in large black capitals with the word "delegates" beneath it. This small detail did away with much of the confusion inside, as it showed where the territory of every State ended and where that of its neighbors began, and there was no good natured "scrapping" over boundary lines, as is generally the case.

## MUSIC BY THE COWBOY BAND.

At 11.30 o'clock, when the hall was less than one-fourth filled, the first music of the convention crashed from the upper balcony. This

music was by the famous cowboy band which came from Alamosa, a little town in Colorado, and there is not a band in the country or in any other country that could have outplayed it. The band was dressed in cowboy costumes—variegated handkerchief about the neck, all sorts of colored flannel shirts and leather breeches, with the leather trimmings, and the only thing lacking was the ferocious pistol which is seen in every picture of a cowboy. That band was a glory and a delight to the 10,000 who were able to get into the hall.

For two hours the band discoursed beautiful, familiar and stirring airs, switching off from time to time to "Dixie," and frequently would give the sweetest melody from the South and the ditties of the Western plains. Then, in solemn cadence, the band would break in with something like a dirge, and this great audience turned its eyes to a huge canvas, upon which was portrayed the features of Grover Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland's portrait was adorned by the American colors veiled in mourning.

It was a great scene. It was so different from the customary and conventional scene at a Democratic or a Republican national convention—the beauty of the flowers, the fine idea of the plants, the geniality of the band, the good feeling that seemed to prevail, the spontaneous outbursts for everything and everybody—demonstrated what has already been said, that the whole represented the efforts of the people that had never before had a national convention.

Chairman Tom Taggart arrived with Temporary Chairman Bell at 11.45 o'clock, and they were liberally applauded. While Taggart was waiting for order the delegates came in, many with banners. The Bryan volunteers, of Nebraska; the Californians and dozens of other delegations came in with banners of all colors. Cheers greeted the advent of every Bryan banner.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S AND BRYAN'S DAUGHTER THERE.

In a box to the left of Chairman Taggart's platform was Mrs. Nicholas Longworth and her husband and the other members of the Longworth-Roosevelt party, among which was Senator Julius Cæsar Burrows, temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention at Chicago. Mrs. Longworth's box was a bower of roses and ferns. The pink, crimson and bright red of the roses were charmingly mingled. Within twenty feet in another box was Mrs. Ruth

Bryan Leavitt and the other children of William J. Bryan. The Bryan box also was enveloped and almost hidden with beautiful roses, pinks, lilies and ferns.

On the floor in the sections devoted to the delegates sat Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, one of the four delegates-at-large for Colorado. She sat behind the Colorado standard. In the Utah delegation, sitting as another delegate, was Mrs. H. J. Hayward, president of the Woman's Democratic Club, of Salt Lake City. Both of these women are the keenest talkers, and when it is said that they are talkers and talkers for fair, it is but a mere record of the fact.

The Michigan delegation, which had marched to the convention hall carrying a large silk banner, bore it into the hall and were promptly ordered by the sergeant-at-arms to bear it out again. The Wolverines compromised by laying it on the floor beneath their seats.

After all the delegations had been seated with the exception of Nebraska the delegation from that State made a spectacular entrance. They came marching in a solid column down the center aisle holding high a large banner of red, white and blue silk on which was painted a portrait of Mr. Bryan. Above the picture were the words "Bryan Volunteers" and beneath it, "of Nebraska." The sight of the banner and the march of the Nebraskans created great enthusiasm for a few minutes, many of the delegates and alternates leaping upon their chairs and waving their hats and handkerchiefs.

California followed Nebraska into the hall and vied with that delegation in the splendor of a banner in white, blue and gold which also bore a likeness of Mr. Bryan. The Californians carried palm leaf fans and small national flags which they waved in enthusiastic acknowledgment of the cordial greetings accorded them by the delegations already in the hall.

It was just at 12.20 o'clock when Chairman Thomas Taggart, of the National Committee, brought down his gavel with a resounding whack and called the convention to order. Cheers followed the blow of the gavel and Chairman Taggart, as soon as they had subsided, spoke as follows:

"As chairman of the Democratic National Committee, it becomes my pleasing duty to call this convention to order, and in so doing I cannot refrain from the suggestion that in numbers, in the personnel of the delegates, in enthusiasm and in the determination of victory,



it is the greatest political convention ever assembled in the United States. It is certainly appropriate that such a convention should meet in this great Western city, whose citizens have shown their generous hospitality on every hand and whose enterprise and energy is attested by the erection of this magnificent auditorium.

"In this connection I desire to express the thanks of the members of the National Committee to the people of Denver and especially to the members of the Denver Convention League, whose unselfish and untiring work has contributed so much to this successful and happy opening of the campaign of 1908."

Following Mr. Taggart's remarks the secretary read the official call of the convention.

Bishop John J. Kean, of Wyoming, delivered the invocation, delegates and spectators rising to their feet. Mr. Taggart then announced that Theodore A. Bell had been chosen as temporary chairman and named the committee who would escort him to his seat.

The name of Mr. Bell was greeted with an outburst of applause, as was that of Urey Woodson, the secretary.

"Gentlemen of the convention," said Mr. Taggart, as the committee of three appeared on the platform with Chairman Bell, "I take pleasure in introducing to you your temporary chairman, Theodore A. Bell."

An instant shout of applause greeted the words of the chairman, and as the temporary chairman advanced to the front to deliver his address the cheers were redoubled. Mr. Bell is about five feet ten inches in height, slender, clean shaven, brown eyed and brown haired. He was garbed in the conventional afternoon attire. His voice is clear and penetrating and he had no difficulty in commanding the close and instant attention of the convention.

The delegates were prone to applaud from the utterance of Mr. Bell's first sentence. His manner of delivery lent emphasis to his points, and there was spontaneous handclapping at the conclusion of each of his gracefully rounded periods. Galleries, too, joined liberally in the applause bestowed upon the speaker.

Cheers mingled in the outburst of applause when Mr. Bell asserted that the Democratic party would always stand unalterably opposed to a monopoly of production.

At the conclusion of the speech the delegates rose to their feet and cheered the orator for many minutes.

The speech made a profound impression, not only on the convention, but throughout the country, as the following editorial from a leading liberal Republican daily will evince:

#### BELL STATES BIG ISSUES.

"The Democratic party as represented in its national convention was raised on the first day to a plane of patriotic purpose, based upon an intelligent understanding of the needs of the American people and the questions which must be decided in the coming campaign, by the speech of one man. That man was Theodore A. Bell, the temporary chairman of the convention, and unquestionably the best man who could have been selected to make the keynote speech. It was a speech that held the attention of the convention as even keynote speeches seldom do, and one that brought home to the delegates a keen sense of Democratic responsibility. It was a speech, too, that pointed out the weak spots in the forces upon which William H. Taft must rely and the platform which was forced upon him, with a clearness and force that will be hard to obscure, even when the battle between the parties has inflamed the country.

"It was a trumpet to which many Republicans would like to respond, for it sounded opposition to all that sordid reactionary influence which has fought the policies of even its own President, Roosevelt, and exercised sufficient control over the Republican National Convention to prevent the adoption of so strong a platform as Taft and Roosevelt wanted, and forced the nomination of James S. Sherman, of New York, to serve as a deadweight handicap to the more progressive and independent man who heads the Republican ticket.

"This speech of Bell's will probably not be excelled by anything Bryan may say or by any replies that may be made from the Republican side.

"It presented the true issues of the campaign—issues not between the Republican and Democratic parties, but issues between the progressive, independent citizens of the country and the horde of grasping corruptionists who stand as obstructionists; the Cannons, Sher-mans, Aldriches and Penroses of the Republican organization; the Guffeys, Charles F. Murphy and Roger Sullivan, of the Bryan Democracy.

## BELL'S ANALYSIS TRUE.

"Bell's analysis of the Republican platform as a confession of guilt was not an exaggeration. His criticism of the party for its failure to enact into law the most important recommendations of President Roosevelt did no injustice to any one. He spoke the truth, a truth the American people understand and appreciate, and a truth which must figure in the campaign because Cannon dominates the action of the House of Representatives and Aldrich controls Republican action in the United States Senate, and both of them and all the tools they rely upon to aid them in preventing legislation for the promotion of the general welfare are but the tools of predatory combinations that have been branded by President Roosevelt as public enemies."

The importance and significance of Bell's speech lie in the fact that it indicated just what character of attack is to be made upon the Republican ticket by the Democratic hosts.

There was not a word of criticism directed against President Roosevelt, or anything he has accomplished or tried to accomplish. There was no word against William H. Taft except such as is justified by the patent fact that, as a candidate of the Republican party, Taft must be regarded as, in part at least, the representative of that element of the Republican party which all public-spirited Republicans have been fighting, and yet which was strong enough to gain a compromise in the conflict of the factions at Chicago.

The text of the speech follows:

## THE "KEYNOTE" SPEECH OF DEMOCRACY.

BY TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN THEODORE A. BELL.

"We have assembled at a time when the public conscience is demanding honesty of purpose in the men who undertake to direct the affairs of state. The public eye is keenly sensitive to every political movement, and our proceedings here will be approved according to the degree of sincerity appearing in the work of this convention.

"There is a widespread belief, founded upon evidence of a convincing character, that the party in power has not been true to its trust, that it has betrayed the common interests into the hands of the enemies of good government, thereby forfeiting its right and destroying its ability to rule in the name of the people.



"Apparent to every one is the fact that way down deep in the heart of the Republican convention at Chicago there was a feeling of anger and resentment over the popular clamor for reforms, and it is equally patent that there is no bonafide intention on the part of the Republican party of granting any reforms, if the machinery of that party can be retained in present hands.

"Its paper platform, divided like ancient Gaul into three parts—barren promises, makeshifts and evasions—it is hoped will make a good campaign transparency, but no one seriously believes the Republican party indorses that neutral manuscript which held the convention together until it could ratify the nomination of a Presidential candidate.

"Approaching our great task in a manly, dignified manner, imbued with the loftiest sentiments of patriotism, ambitious to throw every safeguard around the liberties of our people, determined to stamp out the abuses that are consuming the substance of the nation, let us proceed to our appointed duty with the sustaining consciousness that we are responsible alone to God and to our country for the justice of our cause.

#### AN APPEAL TO COMMON SENSE.

"There are three things that this convention should do:

"It ought to present in a plain and intelligent manner the serious industrial conditions that are disturbing the peace and happiness of our country.

"We should then proceed to a courageous exposure of the Republican policies that are co-operating with private greed in the general oppression of the people.

"Most important of all, we must exhibit a readiness and an ability to grasp the problems of the hour and to effect their solution in a manner that will satisfy the sober, common sense of the multitudes whose interests are at stake.

"Among the great evils that afflict the country at the present time is the abuse of corporate power. At first the advancing aggressions of the corporations are not discernible to the common eye, for every move is carefully covered up until sufficient political strength is attained to defy the protests of the people.

"Thus the constant and insidious invasion of the people's rights

finally results in a species of arrogance and defiance so formidable in its appearance that the body of the people, in fear of even worse aggressions, hesitate to exercise their rightful authority over these colossal enemies of the commonwealth.

"And so we behold a subversion of our free institutions, a government voluntarily subordinating itself to selfish, private ends, special privilege resorting to cunning, bribery and intimidation to maintain its unholy power.

"Whenever the mutterings of the people become too threatening the cry of confiscation goes up and appeals are frantically made to the sacred rights of party. This is intended to affright the ears of honest men in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry and thrift, and thus, by playing upon their prejudices and fears, to deter them from casting their influence on the side of wholesome reforms. The cry of confiscation is the historic defense of usurpation. Let the people take warning. Whenever the wrongs of to-day become the vested right of to-morrow the nation is in deadly peril.

"The Democratic party is not the enemy of property; but to the contrary, it has always stood and will continue to stand firmly against every species of aggression that would destroy or weaken the right of any man to enjoy the rewards to which his patience, his skill, his industry and his economy entitle him.

"Our party approves that feeling of pride which always accompanies the possession of purity, and it commends an individual ownership in the soil that will bring to the homes of America more of the convenience, comforts and luxuries of life. Against the evils of special privilege we urge the benefits of equal opportunity, in order that there may be more landowners, more homes and more happiness among the masses.

"The Democratic party is not an enemy of all corporations. It recognizes their great value in the industrial world. Through the agency of incorporation scattered wealth is brought together and given a driving force that it would not otherwise possess. Great enterprises are thereby undertaken and the undeveloped resources of the country added to the wealth of the world.

"No rational man can be opposed to corporations as such, and the assertion that the Democratic party is waging an indiscriminate war against this convenient form of transacting business has no found-

dation in fact. It is the abuse only of corporate power that we seek to eliminate.

"Our party is not opposed to production on a large scale, but it is unalterably opposed to monopoly in production. It is easier to prevent monopoly than it is to control it after being established. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, and the withdrawal of special privileges will take away the meat upon which the trusts are fed. If this be followed by a criminal prosecution and an imprisonment of the directors and officers of the guilty corporations, monopoly will be shorn of many of its terrors.

"Viewed in the light of a great moral institution, the control of corporations should remain a question of common concern rather than a political one, but the shameful complacency of the Republican party in permitting its forces to be controlled and operated by the most offending corporations of the country throws the problem into the political arena and compels the public to choose between the Democratic party that will and the Republican party that will not place some restrictions on incorporated greed.

#### SAYS RIVAL PARTY IS INSINCERE.

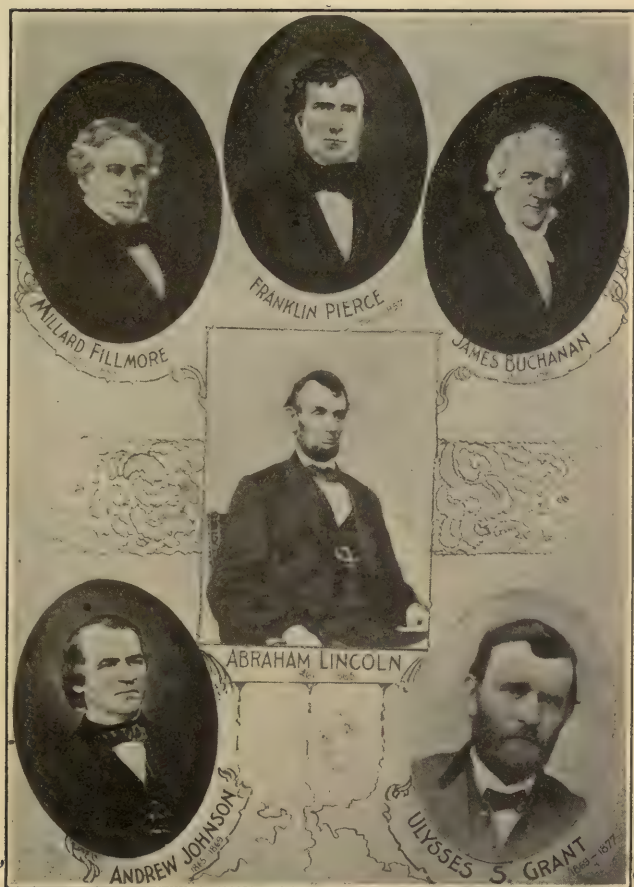
"We are confronted with the inquiry, What assurance has the Republican party given that it will use the forces at its command to restore the people to their rights? In its Chicago platform it did not make even a decent pretense of championing the people's cause, and the proceedings of that convention are glaringly insincere.

"It was noted that two elements were present in that gathering—one with sufficient votes to adopt a platform and name its candidate for President, the other powerful enough to underwrite that platform and tie the hands of the nominee.

"The distinguishing feature of the Chicago platform is its oft-repeated promise to do a lot of things that the Republican party has heretofore failed to do.

"Some one suggested that this convention should publish an indictment against the Republican party. We can probably expedite the proceedings by entering the plea of guilty that is contained in the Chicago platform, simply changing the words 'we will' to the words 'we did not' to conform to the admitted facts. We then have the following Republican confession of guilt:





PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1850 TO 1877.



PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1877 TO 1901.

" 'We did not revise the tariff.

" 'We did not amend the anti-trust laws to secure greater effectiveness in the prosecution of criminal monopolies.

" 'We did not add a single line to the interstate commerce law, giving the Federal Government supervision over the issues of stocks and bonds by interstate carriers.

" 'We did not exact a currency measure that would mitigate the evils of a financial panic such as has recently prostrated the country under a Republican administration.

" 'We did not limit the opportunities for abusing the writ of injunction.

" 'We did not establish postal savings banks.

" 'We did not establish a bureau of mines and mining.

" 'We did not admit into the Union the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate States.'

"The last Congress was in session during a financial crisis, when innumerable banking institutions, preferring a holiday to a funeral, closed their doors and filled the minds of the millions of depositors with anxiety and fear. The sentiment in favor of postal savings banks which had been steadily growing in this country became almost universal during the recent panic. So insistent became the voice of the people that the President sent a special message to Congress urging the establishment of postal savings banks where the earnings of our people might be safely deposited under the direct control and responsibility of the Federal Government.

"The United States Senate showed its hearty sympathy with this popular demand and its profound respect for the President by adjourning while the message was being read, while over in the House they refused to suspend the roll call to receive the communication.

"The Chicago platform points with pride to the passage of a child-labor law for the District of Columbia. Let the Republican party go further than the enactment of penal laws and in the name of humanity use its vast energies for the removal of the conditions that are forcing our children into the labor market.

#### ONE EVIL OF MONOPOLY.

"It is the reign of monopoly that is emptying our school houses and filling the sweat shops with child labor, and this same system of



monopoly is fast limiting the opportunities for independent livelihood among those who are forced into the industrial field.

"The most palpable instance of the insincerity of the Chicago platform is found in its declaration respecting the issuance of injunctions. It would have been entitled to more respect if it had omitted all mention of it. The oligarchy in House and Senate has decided that nothing shall be done to weaken any advantage that corporations have gained in labor disputes.

"The fact is that all our citizens, without respect to station or occupation in life, have a genuine respect for the courts and desire to maintain their integrity. The charge that the courts are being assailed is simply made for the purpose of diverting attention from the real issue. Heretofore it has not been considered treason or an unwarrantable attack upon the honor of the courts to define their jurisdiction, prescribe their procedure, restrict their processes and generally to fix the bounds within which judicial functions shall be exercised.

"It makes no difference whether the courts are acting in excess of their jurisdiction or strictly within their delegated powers. In either case the people have a right to throw additional safeguards around human liberty. There can be no reflection upon the honesty of the courts in the passage of a measure that will confine the equity powers of the federal judiciary within such bounds as the people of the United States, through the legislative branches of their government, may determine.

"This Democratic convention must formally and unequivocally pledge itself to such legislation as will prevent the writ of injunction from being converted into an instrument of oppression.

"We have something to do in this convention besides pointing out evils and taking the Republican party to task for the part it has played in creating and perpetrating abuses.

#### PARTY'S INTERNAL POLICIES.

"In recent years our party has given signal proof of its ability to grasp the opportunity of building up an internal policy, of developing the natural resources of America and converting them to the use and benefit of all that will share in their blessings.

"This policy of domestic development, which was strongly urged in former Democratic national platforms, and, so earnestly advocated

by Democratic members in both houses of Congress, stands in brilliant contrast with the imperial policy of the Republican party in the exploitation of distant territory for the benefit of a favored few.

"Witness the beneficent operation of national irrigation, which had its origin in the Newlands bill, and which owes its place upon our statute books, not to the initiative of Republican leaders in Congress, but to Francis G. Newlands and his Democratic colleagues, who labored in and out of season for the reclamation of our arid lands under federal aid and supervision.

"The preservation of our forests and the conservation of all our natural resources were taken up by a Republican President only after years of agitation by the Democratic party.

"Is it not the Democratic party to-day that is leading the fight for the improvement of our inland waterways along comprehensive and scientific lines? The last Republican Congress turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the President and refused to organize an inland waterways commission to examine and report upon the subject. The opposition of the Republican party to the policy of preserving and developing our national wealth in the interests of the whole people had its origin in that unholy alliance between the Republican party and the land transportation monopolies of the country.

#### MUST REVISE THE TARIFF.

"With the power and opportunity to carry out Democratic principles, we will be called upon to revise our tariff laws in the interests of the whole people. This issue cannot be disposed of by the assertion that the Republican party also stands for tariff reform. Republican revision and Democratic revision are two different things.

"The Democratic idea is that where the tariff enables the trusts to maintain a system of extortion the duty should be removed from all trust-made goods, so that competition from abroad may compel reasonable prices to our own people. There is a vast difference between the protection of American industries and the protection of criminal monopolies.

"The expenses of our government, even when most economically administered, will always require substantial tariff rates, for the customs duties will always be our chief source of revenue.

"The distribution of tariff rates must always be established with

special reference to the expenditures of government, keeping in view the greatest good to the greatest number, and particularly prohibiting the conversion of the tariff into an accomplice of monopoly in the robbery of the American consumer.

"The Democratic idea is that the collection of sufficient revenue to meet the necessities of government must be the basis for tariff regulations, and that the Republican policy of excluding competition by a tax on the American consumer which requires him to pay greater prices at home than was demanded abroad is a pernicious abuse of the taxing power and a manifest injustice to our own people.

"The corrupt use of large sums of money in political campaigns is largely responsible for the subversion of the people's will at the polls. In the Chicago convention a minority report of the Committee on Resolutions, containing a declaration in favor of publicity for campaign gifts, was overwhelmingly defeated upon a roll call of the convention, and the Republican party placed itself squarely upon record in favor of concealing the names of the contributors and the amounts of their subscriptions. By a vote of 52 to 1 in the committee, and a vote of more than 10 to 1 in the body of the convention, they confessed their guilt.

"They thus admitted the charge so frequently made by our party that Republican success in the past has largely depended upon the vast sums of money collected from the great monopolies of the country and corruptly used in the conduct of its campaigns.

"An election is a party affair and the people have a right to know before casting their votes whether a campaign is being financed by the trusts and monopolies and just exactly what influences are being exerted to gain control.

"For it is not to be presumed that large appropriations for election purposes are being made from the treasuries of the corporations without an express or implied promise that the contributors shall receive special benefits in consideration of their subscriptions. Upon this subject has the Republican party such utter contempt for the wishes of the people and its refusal to use a cash register in its political affairs, clearly exhibits a crookedness and dishonesty that will not bear the light of day.

"It is eminently proper that this convention should define the Democratic attitude toward the regulation of transportation com-



panies and call the attention of the country to the indisputable fact that it was only after years of Democratic effort that an amendment was made to the interstate commerce law authorizing the commission to establish reasonable rates whenever it appeared that an existing schedule was unjust and unreasonable.

"The national platforms of the Republican party remained silent upon this great question for years, and the fact that the necessary change was advocated by a Republican President, who succeeded, only through the aid of the Democrats in both branches of Congress, in placing the amendment upon our statute books, does not affect the credit to which our party is entitled for having worked persistently for such an enactment.

"Further amendment to our laws giving the Federal Government supervision over the issuance of railroad stocks and bonds is demanded.

"The fixing of transportation charges and the control of issuances of railroad securities are inseparably connected with the actual valuation of railroads. The Democratic party believes that the first thing to do is to secure a physical valuation of the roads, that is, a valuation of the solid rather than the liquid assets of railroad companies. While, on the other hand, the Republican party, on a roll call in the convention, by an overwhelming vote took an unequivocal stand in favor of a system of water rates without giving the people the benefit of a meter.

"We search in vain for one syllable in the Chicago platform pledging the Republican party to retrenchment and reforms; and it is no mere coincidence that has given us a billion-dollar session of Congress on the eve of a national election and the possible revision of the tariff.

"On five different occasions the House of Representatives passed a constitutional amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people, but these measures have been sandbagged in the Senate by those who are determined that the Senate shall not become an integral part of our free, representative institutions.

#### FOR DIRECT ELECTION.

"The Democratic party will continue to labor for the direct election of United States Senators, and it appeals to the voters of all

America to elect members of the different State Legislatures who will pledge themselves to vote for no candidate for the United States Senate that is not in favor of this reform.

"On the bosom of the Pacific will be enacted the mighty commercial struggles of the future, and the interests of American commerce will demand that an adequate naval strength be maintained in the waters of the Pacific to protect our expanding commerce."

"This magnificent western country of ours has not only proved attractive to our own people and the other white nations of the earth, but it has likewise proved alluring to the brown and yellow races of the East. Some protection has been afforded by the exclusion of Chinese labor; but the evil is but half met if the Asiatic people are not excluded from our shores.

"Not only the white toilers of America, but all our people without respect to class or residence are vitally interested in this menace to our social and industrial life from Oriental quarters.

"The Democratic party realizes the weight that America must inevitably exert in the affairs of the world, and will demand that her influence ever be cast on the side of peace, on the side of justice, on the side of the oppressed, and, if the will of the people shall commit to Democratic hands the sceptre of power, it will be used for the realization of those high American ideals that lift our own people to loftier and better things, and through our precepts and examples contribute to the well-being and happiness of all mankind."

There was enthusiastic and liberal applause following Mr. Bell's splendid oration. The convention evidently agreed with the editorial previously quoted, that the one man for the place was in the chair, and had spoken the sentiments and sounded the "keynote" of his party.

As the first order of business after closing his address Mr. Bell recognized John E. Lamb, of Indiana, who offered a motion for all of the States for membership on the various standing committees of the convention.

The reading clerk, when he came to Arkansas, pronounced the name of the State like Kansas, and there immediately came a shout of protest from the delegation, whose members shouted back "Ar—kan—saw."

Amid laughter the clerk corrected his pronunciation.

"Indian Territory," called the clerk, "Indian Territory." There was no response. The clerk called the name a third time.

"She's married!" yelled a delegate.

"I mean Oklahoma," said the clerk, and the list went up to the chairman's stand amid much laughter.

The calling of the States soon ceased and the names of the committees were sent up by the pages while other business was in progress.

#### THE CONVENTION HONORS CLEVELAND.

The chair recognized I. J. Dunn, of Omaha, Neb., who presented the following resolutions of respect to the memory of the late Grover Cleveland:

"As it has pleased the Ruler of the universe to remove from its midst Grover Cleveland, late President of the United States, who was three times the candidate of the Democratic party; be it

*Resolved*, That we, the delegates of the party in national convention assembled, recognize in him one of the strongest and ablest characters known to the world's statesmanship, who possessed to an extraordinary degree the elements of leadership, and by his able, conscientious and forceful administration of public affairs reflected honor upon his country and upon his party; and

*Resolved*, That we hereby express our deep sorrow at his death and extend our warmest sympathy and condolence to his family, and that this resolution be spread upon the records of the convention and a copy be forwarded to Mrs. Cleveland; and

*Resolved*, As a further mark of respect to his memory, the convention do now adjourn until twelve o'clock (noon) to-morrow."

Mr. Dunn, mounted upon a chair, moved the adoption of his resolution, and the chair recognized ex-Governor David R. Francis, of Missouri, who seconded the resolution and spoke briefly in eulogy of Mr. Cleveland.

The address of ex-Governor Francis was punctuated with frequent applause, and a terrific shout greeted the words, "Let us now bury all dissensions of the past."

Many of the delegates rose to their feet and cheered lustily. At the conclusion of Governor Francis' address the chair recognized Colonel W. A. Haldeman, of Kentucky.

"Speaking for Kentucky and for Kentuckians," said Colonel Hal-



deman, "and as the personal and political friend of Mr. Cleveland, I wish to second the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska and to indorse every word that Governor Francis has said."

"It is moved and seconded," began Chairman Bell, but he was at once interrupted by cries of "Parker, Parker," which came from all parts of the hall.

Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, arose and said: "It was my purpose, had I been fortunate enough to first secure the attention of the chairman, to offer my resolutions."

The former standard bearer of the Democratic party read his resolution in a ringing voice, and he was accorded the most careful attention throughout the reading, frequent applause compelling him to halt the delivery.

At the ending of his reading Judge Parker joined in the Dunn resolution by saying: "And, therefore, I beg leave to second the motion of the gentleman from Nebraska."

Repeated cheers followed the distinguished speaker as he returned to his seat in the New York delegation.

The question of adopting the Nebraska resolution was put and concurred in by a rising vote.

#### THE PENNSYLVANIA SQUABBLE.

The chairman stated that two sets of committee appointments had been sent to the chair from Pennsylvania, evidencing a dispute or misunderstanding in that State.

Ollie James was recognized to move that all matters in dispute as to contest, etc., be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

Governor Haskell seconded the motion, but John M. Garman, of Pennsylvania, was on his feet clamoring for recognition, which he finally received. He desired to have the question of the regularity of the contesting Pennsylvania delegation threshed out on the floor at once.

Mr. Garman was interrupted by cries of "order" and "question," but was allowed to conclude when Colonel J. M. Guffey went down the aisle asking for recognition. A dozen other delegates were on their feet when Mr. Bell declared the convention must proceed in regular order, the only question being as to whether or not the matter should be sent to the Committee on Credentials.

"Don't you want a ruling?" said the chairman, and then he gave it without waiting for a reply, saying: "The point of order is not well taken." Mr. Garman moved as a substitute to the motion of Mr. James that the list sent to the desk by the majority of the delegates from Pennsylvania be accepted as the only proper list of committeemen. The chairman, however, refused to entertain the amendment, and declared the motion of Mr. James the only matter before the convention.

Colonel Guffey secured recognition finally and spoke briefly, and, as he concluded his address, he turned back down the aisle and when the chair called for the ayes and noes he turned, and with a face white with wrath shouted:

"We demand a roll call," and the cry was taken up by other members of the Pennsylvania delegation and seconded from a dozen parts of the hall. The chairman, however, called for the vote amid great confusion and cries of "roll call" from the Guffey people and shouts of "sit down," which were hurled at them from all sides of the hall.

The *viva voce* vote seemed overwhelmingly in favor of the motion of Mr. James, and the chairman so declared, while Colonel Guffey, Mr. Garman and others of his friends shouted derisively. After the announcement by the chairman of the meeting places of the various committees, all of which were ordered to assemble at 5 P. M., the convention adjourned until twelve o'clock the following day in respect to the memory of Mr. Cleveland.

## SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Democratic National Convention was called to order for the second day at 12.26 o'clock Wednesday, July 8th.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Christian F. Reisner, of Denver.

W. H. Martin, of Arkansas, presented on behalf of the National Committee a resolution of regret and tribute to the late James K. Jones, former chairman of the committee. It was adopted by a rising vote, and a motion to adjourn until eight o'clock in the evening was lost. The convention called for Senator Taylor, who was absent, then for Senator Gore, of Oklahoma. Taylor and Towne were both absent.

"We shall hear from Senator Gore," finally announced Mr. Bell, amid great cheering.

The delegates of Oklahoma went into a spasm of delight. They whooped and yelled as the blind Senator was led to the platform.

His first utterances were happy and he caught the convention immediately. Loud cheers and applause greeted his declaration that Oklahoma is the most democratic State in the Union.

The cheers were repeated later when he said: "The President of the United States has said that his opinion of our constitution is unfit for publication. That is true of many of the opinions of the President of the United States."

"Fellow delegates, the great Secretary of War came to Oklahoma and waged war against our constitution. He asked us to give up our right of liberty and self-government, but by a vote of thousands upon thousands Oklahoma rejected the advice of Taft and accepted the advice of Bryan."

#### GREAT BRYAN DEMONSTRATION.

The mention of the name brought out great applause, and many members of the New York delegation joined in the cheering, but a majority remained seated. Minnesota and Delaware were the conspicuous exceptions to the general celebration.

A Bryan banner, which had been lurking in the rear, was rushed to the stage and waved above the heads of the chairman and speaker. The point of the flagstaff caught one of the suspended eagles over the chairman's desk and brought it crashing to the floor. It was quickly caught up, however, and held above Senator Gore's head. The band joined in the demonstration with lively music.

Sergeant-at-arms Martin, after he had thoroughly mussed the Senator's hair with the eagle's tail, waved the great stuffed bird so close to the Senator's nose that he must have started back had he been able to see what was going on two inches from his face.

#### BAND POURS OIL ON THE FIRE.

The applause was relaxing somewhat when the band poured oil on the fire by striking up "Dixie," and instantly the flame was burning fiercely, and brighter than before. The young man with the Bryan banner held his place on the speaker's stand by the side of the Senator, waving his banner to and fro.

Senator Gore, who had caused the terrific outburst, waited for a



time for the noise to cease and then quietly turned and seated himself against the railing of the platform, waiting for the uproar to subside.

Georgia's delegation, in the midst of the cheering, was also conspicuous for its absolute silence. When the demonstration had proceeded for some fifteen minutes a delegate from Iowa caught up the standard of that State and led a march to the stage, where there was a grouping of the States. It was a wild rush to the platform in which there was much confusion. Delegates other than those carrying the heavy standards joined in the surging crowd, invading the space set aside for working newspaper men and seriously interfering with their labors.

The only standards that finally were left in their places were Georgia, New York, Delaware, Minnesota, Maryland, Connecticut and New Jersey.

After ten minutes of yelling the perspiring, scrambling delegates with their State standards left the platform and started on a parade around the hall. Back and forth the aisle in front of the press seats the excited, shouting Bryan men carried their standards.

California's Bryan banner, heavy with gold tassels and fringe, was carried to the stage while the cheering continued unabated, and cries of "Whoop 'er up" came from the delegates in the front row.

Maryland at last deserted from the "stay at homes" and its banner was taken into the midst of the parade.

Many of the standard bearers formed a circle about the New York delegation and cheered their lustiest.

In the midst of the riot of noise and the confusion of marching delegates the constant boom flashlight explosions from the photographer added to the pandemonium.

The standard bearers finally invaded the galleries, Maine and Alabama leading the climb to the second tier.

The galleries already had taken their full share of the demonstration.

The band kept up a continuous flow of music, which finally started all the delegates to sing, when "Hail, Hail, the gang's all here," was struck up.

The band in the gallery struck up "Marching Through Georgia." While the latter air was ringing through the hall a determined assault was made by the frenzied Bryan shouters upon the Georgia standard,

which up to this time had been kept firmly rooted in its place. The delegation showed in firm fashion that it was dangerous to "march through Georgia," as ever it had been in the days of the war.

They rallied around their little yellow pole, bearing the name of their State in white against a background of blue, and they stuck staunchly to their guardianship. It was the only Southern standard that remained unrooted, and where it was planted it stayed.

The cowboy band at last left its place in the galleries and joined the parade through the aisle, playing "Marching Through Georgia." The man with the big bass horn had troubles which were only equalled by the bass drummer in getting through the crowd. The band was finally separated, and in groups and singly the members played as they pleased. It was a weird medley.

Pennsylvania's standard was the first returned to its place, but the example apparently had little effect upon the other States. After the uproar had continued for fifty minutes Maine joined in the parade, which was constantly swinging up and down the aisles. Kentucky and Pennsylvania, however, had returned to their places, and the demonstration seemed for the time to be dying down. The band, now united, again woke the echoes with "A Hot Time," and the ocean of cheers was again in flood tide. Sergeants-at-arms, carried away by the frenzy of the occasion, left their posts and joined in the yelling, exultant throng. Men, however, cannot yell forever, nor is their strength inexhaustible, and the signs of a let down were unmistakable and more frequent.

At 2.36 o'clock Chairman Bell made his first effort to stop the tumult.

At 2.47 o'clock, one hour after Senator Gore had mentioned the name of Bryan, a majority of the State standards were in the proper places, and Senator Gore resumed his speech.

"My countrymen," he said, "to the greater and older States of this great republic Oklahoma has only this to say: 'Go thou and do likewise.'"

Cheers and applause greeted Senator Gore as he made his way from the platform.

The chair again recognized Mr. James, of Kentucky, who again moved that a recess until 8 P. M. be taken.

Mr. Bell put the motion, and without waiting for a negative vote,

declared it carried and the session ended. The Bryan demonstration was a record breaker, the longest ever known in a Presidential convention.

### THE NIGHT SESSION.

The convention was called to order for the evening session at 8.37 o'clock. As the Credentials Committee was not ready to report, Mr. Callahan requested the chairman to fill in the time.

Mr. Ormond, of Florida, was recognized to move that Representative Richmond P. Hobson, of Alabama, be invited to address the convention. The motion prevailed.

#### HOBSON'S ADDRESS.

In the course of his thirty-minute address Congressman Hobson declared that if the Democratic party was successful in the election, he believed that it would, before the end of the four years, "have a great foreign war on its hands."

Instantly there came from the convention a chorus of mingled groans, catcalls, hisses and cries of "No, no." There were many interruptions during the next few minutes.

"I want to say to you," went on Hobson, gritting his teeth in determination, "that not so very long ago the President of the United States said in my presence that there exists the greatest possibility of a war with Japan."

"No, no, come off," shouted the crowd, and there was an outburst of cries which continued for several minutes.

"Gentlemen," said Chairman Bell, "this speaker will be allowed to finish, and if he is interrupted again by the galleries, the sergeant-at-arms will be directed to clear them."

This announcement was greeted with cheers, which sprang from the coast delegations. He was for a time heard in silence, but a roar of laughter went up when a voice far in the rear shouted, "Hurrah for the Merrimac!"

Mr. Hobson finally closed with a plea that even if the Democrats succeeded in power in the nation they should prepare for war so as to bring peace and good will toward man throughout all the world.

Colonel Haldeman, of Kentucky, was then recognized by the chair, and, standing at his place in the center aisle, he asserted that the



convention had business to transact and ought to proceed to it without further flights of oratory. Colonel Haldeman then proceeded to take issue with Mr. Hobson, declaring that the United States has twenty-two first-class battleships and Japan but sixteen. "And I want to say that we are not afraid of Japan or anybody else on the face of the globe," concluded Colonel Haldeman, amid applause.

Chairman Bell announced that the Committee on Credentials would not be ready to report for several minutes.

#### SENATORS TOWNE AND TAYLOR ADDRESS THE CONVENTION.

"This afternoon," said Chairman Bell, "I sent a committee down into the New York delegation to escort to the platform Senator Charles A. Towne——" This was as far as the chairman was allowed to proceed, and Mr. Towne took the rostrum amid much applause.

His address was brief, and he left the platform with the distinctly expressed good will of the convention.

"Taylor, Taylor," cried many of the delegates, remembering the invitation of the afternoon to the Tennessee Senator.

Mr. Callahan, of Massachusetts, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, was in the aisle clamoring for recognition when Senator Taylor was escorted to the stage by a number of his constituents. He was introduced by Chairman Bell amid cheering, and made a characteristic speech.

As Senator Taylor retired the chairman announced: "Gentlemen of the convention, we are now going to get down to hard work. The Committee on Credentials is ready to report. The chair recognizes Mr. Christopher G. Callahan, chairman of the committee."

Mr. Callahan then read the report, the details of which would hardly interest the general reader.

#### FINAL FIGHT OF GUFFEY DELEGATES.

When Chairman Callahan read the decision of the committee in favor of the contestants against Guffey in Pennsylvania there were a few hisses and some applause. The interruption was of brief duration, however, and the reading of the report was continued.

Mr. Callahan concluded by moving the adoption of the report.

"I second that motion," shouted a delegate from Indiana. The chairman stated the question and then recognized L. L. Straus, of

Maryland, who read the minority report, which recommended that the contestees in the Pennsylvania case be seated.

"The action of the majority of the committee," declared Mr. Straus, "is a staggering blow at the independence of the democracy of a sovereign State. This convention can rest upon no other foundation than the supremacy within State lines of the party organization of every State. We therefore recommend that the said contestees retain their seats heretofore ordered them by a legalized Democratic committee."

The statement made by Mr. Straus that the action of the majority of the committee was a staggering blow at the democracy of a sovereign State called forth cheers. He asked the chairman for permission to make a few remarks in support of his motion to substitute the minority for the majority report.

"Now," said Chairman Bell, "put your motion and I will state the resolution." On motion of Governor Haskell, a limit of thirty minutes to each side was put on the debate.

The chair then recognized Chairman Callahan, of the Credentials Committee, as the first speaker in behalf of the majority report. Before Mr. Callahan began Mr. Straus claimed that, as he carried the affirmative, he should have the right to open and close the debate. The chair ruled that the chairman of the committee, as he represented the majority, should have the right to open and close. Thus he again recognized Mr. Callahan.

Mr. Callahan began by saying that the time allotted to the majority would be divided between himself and Governor Haskell, of Oklahoma, the latter closing the debate.

Mr. Straus, who spoke with great fervor and earnestness, was given an ovation as he left the stand, after making an impassioned appeal for the adoption of the minority report.

To conclude the argument in behalf of the minority report, the chair recognized John D. Bellamy, of North Carolina, who argued that the Democratic party was ready to open its doors to any one who desired to adopt its principles. There was some applause at this and the speaker brought his address to a close.

The closing speaker for the majority and the last of the debate was Governor Haskell, of Oklahoma. Governor Haskell charged the

Pennsylvania contestees with being the tools of the Standard Oil Company.

The roll call was ordered on the substitution of the minority for the majority report.

When the roll call was closed Chairman Bell said: "Upon this question the ayes have 387 votes and the noes 615."

The announcement was greeted with great cheering. The majority report then was adopted by a *viva voce* vote.

Great confusion followed the announcement of the result of the roll call, but through the uproar filtered a motion to adjourn until eleven o'clock the next morning. It was seconded in a flash, and carried with a shout, and the delegates made for the doors.

### THIRD DAY OF THE CONVENTION.

At 11.30 A. M., Thursday, July 9th, Chairman Bell called the convention to order. The proceedings were opened with prayer by Rabbi Samuel Koch, of Seattle, who closed impressively as follows:

"One hundred and thirty-three years of notable history are looking down upon us. The makers of our nation in the century past pass in array before us. Whatever their party affiliation, they had this in common—a representative Americanism.

"Grant, O God, that our political selves may be touched to higher issues by these national memories. Lest we forget, be these the monitors that tell us of the magnificence in political life of fealty to principle, of honor and character and sincerity in manhood. In keeping close to these, when the day's work is ended, be ours the consciousness that Thou, judge of nations, art with us yet."

As chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, Senator McCreary, of Kentucky, presented the report of that body. It recommended Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, for permanent chairman; Urey Woodson, of Kentucky, for secretary, and John L. Martin, of Missouri, as sergeant-at-arms. In all other respects the temporary organization was made permanent.

The chair, after the unanimous adoption of the report, appointed Senator McCreary, Lewis Nixon, of New York, and J. E. Baker, of California, members of a committee to escort the permanent chairman to the platform.





WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN  
For Twelve Years Leader of the Democratic Party.



JOHN A. JOHNSON, OF MINNESOTA.

## CLAYTON KISSES THE GIRLS.

Chairman Clayton, as soon as he was seen advancing toward the platform, was cheered to the echo, and the uproar was redoubled as he was introduced to the convention by Temporary Chairman Bell.

Three little girls, in red, white and blue dresses, were helped to the platform before Mr. Clayton began to speak. In their arms were large bunches of American Beauty roses that almost smothered the little tots. The roses were presented to the permanent chairman amid much cheering, and then, one by one, the children were lifted to the desk and Mr. Clayton kissed them in turn. Cheering and laughter continued during the little ceremony, and a gale of merriment swept the hall when some one in the midst of the kissing called out, "Hobson! Hobson!"

## THE PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER.

It is an incident worth remarking that Mrs. Alice Longworth, the daughter of President Roosevelt, and Mrs. Ruth Leavitt, Mr. Bryan's daughter, were interested visitors at almost every session of the convention. During Chairman Clayton's speech, which follows, Mrs. Longworth manifested great indignation at the orator's violent attack on her father's administration. Finally, however, she caught the twinkling eyes of her husband, Congressman Nicholas Longworth, who was much amused at his wife's perturbation. They both burst into a fit of laughter; and thereafter, when her temper rose in resentment, the same look of "*all's fair in love and war,*" or "*don't mind, it's the game,*" provoked a similar restoration of her equanimity. It is said that even Mrs. Leavitt sympathized, and thought Mr. Clayton should not have been so severe.

## THE DEMOCRATIC SLOGAN OF WAR.

## CHAIRMAN CLAYTON'S ADDRESS.

Chairman Clayton's address in its entirety constitutes a Democratic slogan of war. It criticised the Republican administration of President Roosevelt in strongest terms. The great length of Mr. Clayton's speech prevents its insertion in full. He said in part:

"This is a Democratic year. Democratic ideas are now popular. Doctrines always taught by our party and scoffed at by our opponents



are now urged as a gospel of their own. Measures and policies of Democratic origin are now pretendedly advocated by the leaders of the Republican party. It is no longer anarchistic to declare private monopoly to be indefensible, or that the great transportation companies should be governed and controlled by law. Former questioning of the decision of a bare majority of the Supreme Court in the income tax case cannot now be heard, because of the greater noise of the vehement and embroidered denunciation of judges and judicial acts that have shocked the country. A demand for revision of the tariff is no longer a threat to destroy our industrial system. Trusts are not to be tolerated even by the Republican party. We need not now enlarge on the list of Republican admissions and promises for election purposes only. The Republican party has made marked progress in promises to the people, and much greater progress in aiding selfish interests and special privileges. This party, guided by expediency and campaign necessity, would camp this year on Democratic ground.

"The Republican party, having had full control of the federal government for more than a decade, must give an account of its stewardship. Its pretentious claims, largely without foundation and largely exaggerated, will not suffice. Let honest investigation reveal the bad and defective laws passed by that party, vicious policies maintained, reforms rejected, the recent panic and its consequences, promises broken, dissimulation practiced, incompetency confessed by its failures to meet urgent public needs, and exhibiting this incompetency by the appointment of junketing commissions for the alleged purpose of advising that party, so long in control and of such boasted extreme wisdom, what legislation is required by the country. Against the Republican party, so degenerate and crafty, is a capable, determined, honest Democracy, in sympathy with all just public demands, and asking in its behalf candid public judgment. To that judgment the issues must be committed, and we unhesitatingly submit our cause to that fine and true sense for the right which we know distinguishes the American people.

"In this quadrennial contest Mr. Roosevelt has identified himself with Mr. Taft. Mr. Taft has identified himself with Mr. Roosevelt. The Republican party has inseparably identified the two together. To praise one you must praise the other; to criticise one is to criticise his pursuing shadow. And so, I must say, if it should appear to any one

that in noting and denouncing abuses and favors on the part of the present administration any license is assumed, I urge the impossibility of separating the present occupant of the White House from his own anointed one.

"It has been made evident in the pending campaign that the Republicans will seek to conjure with the name of Roosevelt and will rely upon the President's policies as a treasured asset. The President has advertised himself and his policies with a frequency and an ability that surpass the best efforts of the shrewdest press agent. A distinguished Republican, a former cabinet officer, once publicly proclaimed the President to be the greatest exponent of the art of advertising the world has ever known. The country has been told and not allowed to forget that in his opinion his energies have been devoted to the accomplishment of many high purposes, and that his work is yet incomplete. It is so only because his undertakings were too vast to be carried to success during his term of office. "My policies" must continue. So the champion of these would transfer office and power to his favorite cabinet minister, and his spear is to have a fellow. The pretense is that the fight must go on under the leader designated by him until the last foe shall have surrendered or lies inglorious in the dust. The nomination of his would-be successor was largely accomplished by the use of official patronage and coarse machine methods, and has delighted the chief apostle of strenuosity and at the same time has not perturbed the conscience of the one time civil service reformer, now the boss and adept in the bestowal of public plunder and forgetful of all his resounding moral commonplaces. No fair-minded American could read the daily account of the recent political doings at Chicago without feeling mortification and regret—mortification that the President should have so abused his power in indicating to a great party his choice as his successor, and regret that the party should have submitted to a humiliation that was as manifest as it was degrading.

"What are the policies that constitute the capital of the Republican party in this campaign and that are relied upon to support the candidacy of Mr. Taft?

"To recall Democratic platforms, speeches and measures is to convince any man that many of the President's public utterances were derived from an avowed familiarity with the teachings of our party.

His utterances that are Democratic have given him his only claim to be a reformer, and have contributed more than all else to the popularity he has enjoyed. The heir and the party are committed to unfaltering adherence to the policies of the President. What are these policies and what are the achievements of the President and the party?"

Mr. Clayton then reviewed unfavorably the administration of President Roosevelt, and continued:

"If the love of country and liberty is still strong in the hearts of the American people; if an oath to support the Constitution is now considered by them as binding; if the people are earnest in their protests against the rule of insolent wealth, the unauthorized and baleful influence of corporations and the exactions of the trusts; if the manliness of the fathers has been transmitted to the sons, the fourth of next March will mark the advent of the gladsome light of Democracy and the beginning of the return to constitutional government, honestly and economically administered."

Loud cheers of approval greeted Chairman Clayton as he finished, and the applause was continued for several minutes. The delegates stood on their chairs and tossed hats and handkerchiefs into the air.

John W. Kern, of Indiana, offered a motion providing for the appointment of a committee of three, to ascertain when the Committee on Resolutions would be ready to report the platform. The motion was adopted, and the chair appointed as the committee Messrs. Kern, of Indiana; Pace, of Alabama, and Mack, of New York.

#### RAYMOND ROBINS INVITED TO SPEAK.

"Pending the investigation and report of the committee," said Mr. Clayton, "the chair takes the liberty of inviting to address the convention Mr. Raymond Robins, of Chicago." After this address a motion was made by an Oklahoma delegate that "George" W. Littleton, of New York, be invited to address the convention.

The members of the New York delegation accepted the invitation to Mr. Littleton as a compliment which they shared, and they cheered him lustily as he mounted the rostrum.

"I believe it is time for us to be tolerant of each other's opinions," he said, "so that we may all unite to restore the government to the hands of the Democratic party. Let us bury forever the differences



that have embittered us. I bespeak a closer union of Yankee Doodle and Dixie, of Maine and California, that victory may be ours."

Mr. Littleton's address was loudly cheered. John W. Kern, of Indiana, announced that the Committee on Resolutions would be ready to report not later than seven o'clock, and that its sessions were entirely harmonious.

Senator Grady, of New York, moved a recess until 7 p. m. The motion was carried with a whoop.

## THE NIGHT SESSION.

THURSDAY, JULY 9TH.

### DUNN'S NOMINATING SPEECH FOLLOWED BY DEMONSTRATION.

A small American flag had been placed on every delegate's chair prior to the beginning of the evening session. This was the unmistakable evidence of the nominating session of the convention, and quickened the interest of the spectators, who early made a rush for the galleries, filling them to overflowing.

A male quartette was an added feature of the musical programme of the night session. They sang their first selection through megaphones and got a royal reception.

A Chicago band relieved the cowboy musicians, who had served so loyally since the opening of the convention on Tuesday. The bandsmen of the plains, it was generally agreed, had earned their rest.

At 7.30 o'clock it was whispered through the hall that the Committee on Resolutions had finished its work, and would in a short time be prepared to present its report to the convention. It was just 7.50 o'clock when Chairman Clayton began to rap for order, which he secured within the minute.

Mr. Clayton recognized Mr. McQuisten, of Pennsylvania, who announced the selection of James Kerr as member of the National Committee from that State, in place of James M. Guffey, who was selected before the Pennsylvania contests were settled.

"Without objection the selection of Mr. Kerr will be considered as ratified," said the chairman, and a moment later added: "The chair hears none, and the selection of Mr. Kerr is ratified."

"In November next," said Chairman Clayton, "we will witness

in New York the Tammany tiger devouring the Republican elephant. Therefore, I invite to the stand for a speech from a Democrat to a Democratic convention Senator Thomas F. Grady, of New York."

Senator Grady received an enthusiastic welcome as he appeared on the rostrum. When he declared that the convention could nominate no candidate and adopt no platform that would not receive the united and enthusiastic support of the New York Democracy he received still greater applause, and returned to his seat amid cries of "Grady!" "Hurrah for Grady!"

Following Senator Grady, Chairman Clayton introduced Judge Wade, of Iowa, "a representative of the great corn State."

"Whoever the candidate is, whatever the platform of this convention," he declared, "the thought goes out from this convention that honesty must be enthroned as the dominating influence of public life. It must be manifest on the part of public officers and on the part of every individual dealing with the public, with corporations or with their fellow-men."

"I am sure the convention will be glad to concur in the request of Missouri to hear from old Champ Clark, of that State, one of the knightliest Democrats who ever drew a glittering blade in defence of the party." —

It was in these words that Chairman Clayton introduced the next speaker, whose appearance on the platform was a signal for great cheering.

Mr. Clark predicted that the Democrats would sweep the country from sea to sea; that on March 4th next a Democratic President would be inaugurated, backed by a Democratic house, and the people then would come into their rights.

"Together all over the land," he continued, "and the Republican party is presenting to the country the effect of a dissolving view. At Chicago Roosevelt forced on the convention a candidate for President that it did not want, and the convention forced on him a candidate for Vice-President that he did not want."

Mr. Clark closed with a tribute to Mr. Bryan as "the greatest living American."

Mr. James reported that the Committee on Resolutions would not be ready to report before midnight. He then made a motion that the rules be suspended and that the nominating speeches for Presi-

dential candidates be made, with the understanding, however, that no ballot should be taken until after the report of the committee had been received.

The motion was adopted and the rules were declared by the chair to be suspended, and nominations to be in order.

#### PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS.

"The Secretary will now proceed to call the roll of States for nominations for the office of President of the United States," shouted Chairman Clayton.

"Alabama," called the clerk.

The chairman of that delegation arose and was recognized.

"Knowing that Nebraska will make no mistake in nominating the right man," he said, "Alabama yields to Nebraska."

"I. J. Dunn, of Omaha, will speak for the Nebraska delegation," announced the chairman of that State, while the cheering which followed the first statement from Alabama continued unabated.

Mr. Dunn, who was to make the speech of the convention, in which the greatest interest was felt by the delegates and the spectators, is scarcely of middle age. He spoke clearly and with a pleasing manner of delivery.

#### I. J. DUNN'S SPEECH.

##### NOMINATING BRYAN FOR PRESIDENT.

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: Crises arise in the life of nations which endanger their institutions and, at times, imperil the advance of civilization. Every people that has left its impress upon history has faced such crises.

"In most instances, where grave dangers have threatened the safety of the State, some great character, some master mind, has been found, produced, as it were, by the conditions themselves, with capacity to direct aright the energies of the people. This was true of the ancient world; it has been true of the modern world; it is true of this republic. We have such a crisis to meet to-day. The favor seeking corporations have gradually strengthened their hold upon the Government, until they now menace popular institutions.

"The question is, whether this government shall be restored to the control of the people and be administered in the interest of all, or



whether it shall remain an instrument in the hands of the few for levying tribute upon all the rest.

"In his special message to Congress last winter President Roosevelt declared, substantially, that certain wealthy men, who have become enormously rich by oppressing the wage earner, defrauding the public and practicing all forms of iniquity, have banded together, and by the unlimited use of money endeavor to secure freedom from restraint and to overthrow and discredit all who honestly administer the law.

"That the methods by which these men have acquired their great fortunes can only be justified by a system of morality that would permit every form of criminality, every form of violence, corruption and fraud.

"For many years, and especially during the last twelve years, these very men have been in control of the Republican party; they have financed every campaign of that party for a quarter of a century. These exploiters of the people, whom the President has so scathingly denounced, have given their enthusiastic support to the Republican candidates and policies. They laid their hands upon the trust funds of insurance companies and other corporations and turned the plunder over to the Republican committee. The money thus filched from the innocent and helpless, to purchase Republican victory, has not been repaid.

"And where do we find these men to-day? Where are the 'swollen fortunes' of which we have heard so much? Just where we would expect to find them—supporting the Republican ticket and furnishing the sinews of war for the Republican committee as usual.

"The platform adopted by the late convention shows what the Republican party in truth represents. In framing the platform every genuine reform which the President had advocated was scorned and repudiated. The Wisconsin delegation asked that one or two reform planks be placed in the platform, and for its pains was denounced as Democratic. The convention by a vote of eight to one refused to approve those policies which the President for four years has been urging upon his party. The mask of hypocrisy has been torn from the face of those who pretend to favor the reforms advocated by the President, and it is now apparent why the "system" admires Taft and hates the Senator from Wisconsin. When compelled to choose between an appeal to the conscience of the nation in defence of its

platform and candidates on the one hand and the millions that the special interests may be depended upon to contribute on the other, that convention rejected the people and continued its alliance with Mammon.

"If the charges made by the President are true—and they are true—we are indeed face to face with a situation as grave as any in our history. How shall it be met? The good sense, patriotism and united action of the people alone can remedy present evils.

"To wage a successful fight we must have a leader. The Republican party, dominated by the seekers of special privileges, cannot furnish him. Republicans who really desire reform are powerless; the efforts of the President have been futile.

#### BRYAN IDEAL LEADER.

"The Democratic party must furnish the leader which present conditions demand, and he must be a man known to be free from the influences that control the Republican party. He must be a man of superior intellect, sound judgment, positive convictions and moral courage—one who will meet the forces of plutocracy with the naked sword of truth—one who knows no surrender. He must have a genius for statecraft; he must be a man of wide experience in public affairs, he must have ability to formulate policies and courage to defend them.

"But, above all, he must have faith in the people. He must not only believe in the right of the people to govern, but in their capacity to do so. And he must be a man whom the people know and trust.

"The Democratic party has many distinguished men who might be chosen as our standard bearer, but it has one man who, above all others, possesses the necessary qualifications and is eminently fitted for this leadership.

"He is a man whose nomination will leave no doubt as to where our party stands on every public question. His genius for statecraft is shown by the constructive work he has done in proposing reforms and by the ability with which he has fortified his position. But we may go further.

"A few months since he visited the principal nations of the world. He came in contact with the leading minds of Christendom, and the world abroad recognized his greatness and paid him that tribute justly due to men of high attainments.

"In the most distinguished peace convention that has assembled in recent years he proposed a plan which, if adopted, would prove more effective than any arbitration treaty that has yet been made, and by his influence he secured its approval by the representatives of the twenty-six leading nations there assembled.

"Is he thoroughly informed regarding the issues of this campaign? Read his speeches and his writings, which for nearly twenty years have been a part of the political literature of the nation. Is he sincere, brave and determined? Even his political opponents now admit that he is.

"I have had a close personal and political acquaintance with this man, whose name Nebraska presents, since he entered political life. I can testify from observation as to his political conduct before he was known to fame. He was honest, brave and unyielding then; he is honest, brave and unyielding now.

"Honesty is inherent in him. He was an honest lawyer before he entered politics. He was honest in his political methods before his statesmanship was recognized by the nation, and he has been honest throughout his political career.

"His convictions have been his political creed. He has impressed these convictions upon others, not by dictation, but by arguments addressed to the judgment and the conscience.

"Believing in the ultimate triumph of the right, he has never examined questions from the standpoint of expediency. He has never inquired whether a political principle was popular; it has been sufficient for him to believe that it was right.

"He has been a consistent champion of the reserved rights of the States. He favored the election of Senators by direct vote before the House of Representatives ever acted favorably upon the subject. He championed tariff reform when the West was the hotbed of protection.

"He favored an income tax before the income tax law was written. He attacked the trusts when Republican leaders were denying that any trusts existed. He advocated railroad regulation before the crusade against rebates and discrimination began.

"He has always been the friend of labor, and was among the first to urge conciliation between labor and capital. He began to oppose government by injunction more than a decade ago. He



announced his opposition to imperialism before any other man of prominence had expressed himself on the subject and without waiting to see whether it would be popular.

"When a Wall Street panic burst upon us a few months ago he promptly proposed as a remedy the guarantee of bank deposits, and so popular has this plan become that it is to-day a national issue and supported by the masses of the people. He has long advocated legislation which will secure publicity as to campaign contributions.

"He believes in peace—in universal Christian peace. He believes the destiny of nations should be determined not by wars but by applying the principles of justice and humanity.

"Though these principles have met with uncompromising opposition from the special interests, he has remained true to the cause of the people. With clear vision and with unfaltering trust, seeing and knowing the truth, he has never lost faith in its final victory.

"Through years of unparalleled warfare his loyalty to his ideals and to his fellow-men has been abundantly shown. His refusal to surrender his convictions, though subjected to abuse, denunciation and vindictive opposition such as few public men in all history have been compelled to withstand, is ample proof of his superb courage.

#### NOT DISCOURAGED BY FAILURES.

"His career proves that successful leadership is determined by the success or failure of great principles rather than by election to high office.

"We have met to plan the campaign and to commission the commander under whom the masses will enlist. We are not here in response to the voice of expediency; neither political bosses nor corporate masters sent us here. We are here at the summons of the rank and file of that political organization which is the special defender of the rights of the common people.

"We are here representing all that is best in the traditions of our party; we feel again the spirit that animated the Democracy in the days of Jefferson and Jackson.

"The voters have spoken, and we assemble to give expression of their will. The voice for the third time calls Nebraska's favorite son to be the standard bearer of his party in this gigantic contest.

"Since time began no grander tribute was ever paid to any man

by a free people. He is recognized to-day as the most representative citizen of the nation, the peer of any living man.

"Friends and foes have learned that he was shaped in that heroic mould in which the world's great patriots, statesmen and leaders have been cast.

"First nominated when ten years younger than any other Presidential candidate ever chosen by a prominent party, living in a State five hundred miles further west than that in which any President has ever lived, he has grown in the affections of the people as the years have passed.

"Speaking and writing freely on all subjects, his heart has had no secrets, and his friends have increased in numbers and in confidence.

"Without an organization to urge his claims, without a campaign fund to circulate literature in his behalf, without patronage to bribe a single voter, without a predatory corporation to coerce its employees into his support, without a subsidized newspaper to influence the public mind, he has won a signal victory at the primaries and has become the free choice of the militant Democracy of the nation.

"Forming in one unbroken phalanx, extending from Massachusetts to California, and from Michigan to the Everglades, the yeomanry of the party have volunteered their services to make him the party candidate, and they will not lay down their arms until they have made him the nation's Chief Executive.

"Nebraska's Democracy, which saw in him when a young man the signs of promise, places in nomination as the standard bearer of our party the man who in the thrilling days of 1896 and 1900 bore the battle-scarred banner of Democracy with fame as unsullied and fidelity as spotless as the Crusaders of old. Nebraska presents his name because Nebraska claims his dwelling place and proudly enrolls him among her citizens, but his home is in the hearts of the people.

"I obey the command of my State and the mandate of the Democracy of the nation when I offer the name of America's great Commoner, Nebraska's gifted son, William Jennings Bryan."

#### DEMONSTRATION FOR BRYAN.

As Mr. Dunn proceeded, almost every allusion he made to the character of Mr. Bryan was enthusiastically applauded, although he had not yet mentioned the name of the Nebraska candidate.

When Mr. Dunn declared that his candidate was the choice of the militant Democracy of the country the convention broke in with wild cheers. The ever-ready flags were tossed aloft, and a roar of applause swept through the hall. While the cheering was at its height a white dove was let loose from the gallery, and it flew across the convention hall, while the delegates hailed it with great enthusiasm and cheered as long as it was in sight.

Mr. Dunn brought out the name of "William Jennings Bryan" with intense dramatic force, and the response from the great throng was electric. The delegates sprang up, the galleries followed suit, and the demonstration was under way.

It was not long then before the scenes of Tuesday's prolonged demonstration of one hour and twenty-six minutes were being rivalled. The delegates poured from the convention floor on to the already overcrowded stage. James Dahlman, of Omaha, a Bryan leader, jumped to the secretary's desk and urged the throng forward. The State standards were grouped about the platform. Galleries and delegates were on their feet, waving the thousands of flags and cheering themselves hoarse. Many of the New York delegates stood and cheered with the others, but the majority remained seated.

Only six banners were missing from the States in the parade through the aisles after the grouping at the stage had broken into a procession. They were Maryland, Minnesota, New York, Georgia, New Jersey and Delaware.

Many Bryan banners which had been brought into the hall were quickly caught up by the marching delegates and carried through the aisles, one of the largest being from the Monroe Club, of St. Joseph, Mo.

The band in the balcony lent its share to the celebration of the Bryan followers, and the blare of the horns, the beat of drums and crash of cymbals could be heard above the din of the shouting hundreds on the floor and the thousands in the galleries.

To describe the scene is well nigh impossible. Many of the delegates in the turmoil lost their hats, some their coats, and numbers stripped off their collars and ties. The demonstration lasted for nearly an hour.



## MEMORABLE NIGHT SESSION.

## GOVERNOR JOHNSON AND JUDGE GRAY NOMINATED.

At 10.20 P. M., when the demonstration's last cry had died away, Chairman Clayton directed the Secretary to continue calling the roll of States. Arkansas passed and California yielded to Oregon. Former Senator Gearin, of that State, was then introduced to second the nomination of Mr. Bryan.

Senator Gearin mentioned the name of Bryan in his first sentence, but it received but a ripple of applause, the enthusiasm having completely spent itself. The Senator spoke but a few minutes and left the stand with liberal applause.

Governor Glenn, of North Carolina, followed Senator Gearin, making a telling speech, which may be taken as a representation of many others seconding Mr. Bryan's nomination.

## GOVERNOR GLENN'S SPEECH.

Governor Robert B. Glenn, of North Carolina, in seconding Bryan's nomination, said:

"Republicanism fosters crime, breeds corruption and protects only the powerful and great.

"Democracy denounces vice, prosecutes crime and shields all alike.

"Republicanism arrogates to itself almost the power of Divinity and boastfully professes to do all things good, while Democracy, asking help from a Supreme Ruler and vaunting not itself, points to its past history of a hundred years as a guarantee of its record for the future.

"Then, with such principles and so great a leader, coupled with the mistakes of our opponents bringing into our nation suffering instead of rejoicing and poverty instead of prosperity, how can we lose the victory this year?

"It is true that the Democratic party has twice placed its banner in Mr. Bryan's hands, and it is likewise true that he did not carry it to victory, but as he said of himself, he kept the faith and returned that banner to us four years ago unstained and unsullied; and to-day, though twice defeated, has arisen stronger and grander than before, and is remembered and beloved, while his traducers have long been forgotten. The very fact that from every section comes the cry,

'Bryan! Give us Bryan!' shows he is not dead, but still lives deep in the affectionate hearts of a grateful people, who are more determined than ever to nominate and elect him President of the nation.

"If you want a man—pure yet strong, brave but tender, generous and still patriotic; the very highest type of American manhood, against whom can be charged no act of disloyalty, dishonor or corruption, but who stands fearlessly the champion of the poor and needy, proclaiming to the oppressor, 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold'—that man is Mr. Bryan.

"Nominate him, and he will certainly be elected. The reading of the stars, the signs of the times, the needs of the hour, the demands of the people—all predict and declare it; and when he comes to his own, as he will next March, he will make the greatest President of the grandest nation the world has ever known.

"Mr. Chairman, a man who is faithful and true to his private life will be honest and just in his public career. A man who believes in humanity and truly serves his God will never be false to his country or unjust to his people. Such a man is Mr. Bryan.

"And now, once more voicing the wishes of the nation, as well as my own State, that first had the honor of suggesting him for President, in 1896, and has remained loyal to him ever since, I again second and urge the nomination of this peerless, brainy, towering, intellectual giant and statesman, beloved at home and honored and respected abroad, the great Commoner of the world—William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska."

Fred. J. Kern, of Indiana, made a motion that all seconding speeches be limited to five minutes. The motion was carried with a wild yell of approval. Governor Swanson, of Virginia, was the next to second the nomination of Bryan. Among others who made ringing speeches in seconding the nomination of Bryan were Augustus Thomas, of Minnesota; Congressman Olie M. James, of Kentucky; James T. Heflin and J. B. Sullivan, of Iowa.

The opportunity of the Johnson supporters came when the roll call reached Connecticut and that State gave way to Minnesota. Winfield S. Hammond, of the latter State, took the stand amid much applause to place in nomination Governor John A. Johnson, of Minnesota.

Mr. Hammond made a most favorable impression on the convention for himself and his candidate. His speech was heard with marked attention.

#### WATER SELLS HIGH.

The heat in the hall and the thick dust stirred up during the Bryan demonstration and the dense clouds of flash powder caused intense thirst to nearly everybody in the hall, and water was in great demand.

Selling early in the night at five cents per glass, water at eleven o'clock was selling at twenty-five cents for two small glasses. Several small boys busied themselves in supplying the demand and reaped a harvest of profit.

By the time that Governor Johnson had been placed in nomination the crowds in the galleries had materially dwindled. The aisles no longer were filled and there were many empty chairs.

A liberal amount of applause came down from the galleries, but the noise was but a whisper compared with the terrific roar of the Bryan demonstration.

Some of the Georgia delegates added their voices to those of the Minnesota men.

Chairman Clayton began to rap for order while Minnesota was still on its chairs and in the flood tide of enthusiasm.

The band also failed to respond to Johnson's name and sat silent, much to the wrath of the Minnesota delegation, who sent to Chairman Clayton a complaint of partiality in favor of the Nebraska candidate. The chairman promptly signaled the band, which played two airs.

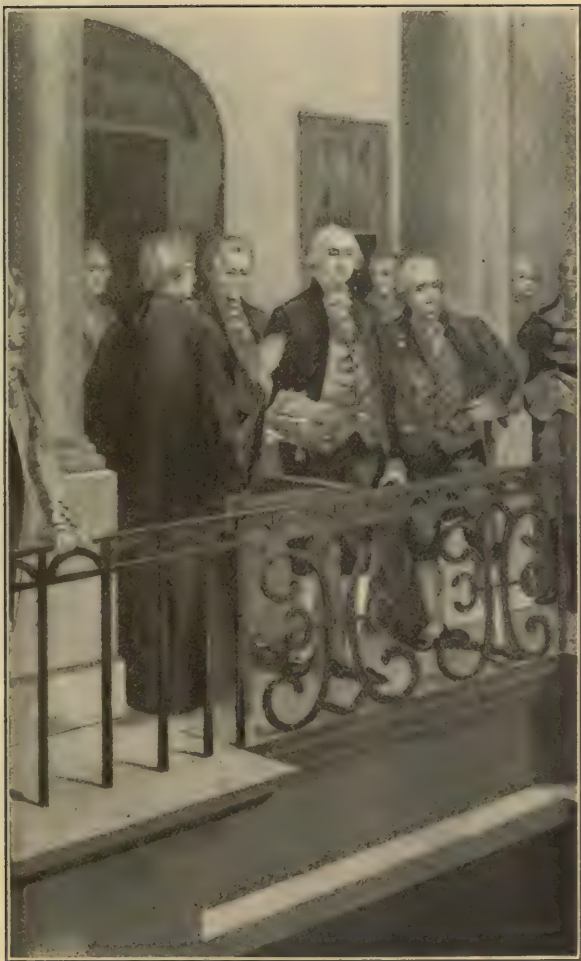
Order was restored after twenty-five minutes.

The house electricians, who had dimmed the lights to help stop the Bryan demonstration, again tried the device on the Johnson outburst, amid hissing.

#### CHEERS FOR JUDGE GRAY.

L. Irving Handy, of Delaware, went to the rostrum to name as Presidential candidate Judge George Gray, of his State. When Mr. Handy had spoken for a few minutes, eliciting cheers, he was interrupted by the appearance of the long-awaited Committee on Resolutions.





#### INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON

The first President of the Republic in the act of taking the oath of office, April 30, 1789, on the site of the present Treasury Building, Wall Street, New York City.



#### THE WHITE HOUSE

The "Executive Mansion," as the White House is officially styled, contains the residential quarters and the offices of the President. Out of his salary of \$50,000 a year the President pays the household expenses, while the government spends nearly \$100,000 a year more in the care of the house and its grounds.

## REPORT ON PLATFORM.

"Gentlemen of the convention," said the chairman, "I now have the pleasure of presenting to you the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, Governor Haskell, of Oklahoma."

The Governor called forth loud cheers from the convention when he announced that there was no division among the members of the committee, and that he represented them all in presenting his report. He then read the platform.

Scattering applause greeted the various planks as they were read by Governor Haskell. The portion of the plank on finance referring to the guarantee of bank deposits, one of Mr. Bryan's favorite policies, elicited the warmest applause given up to that time.

The reading of the injunction plank was heard with the deepest attention, and the declaration in favor of "a revision of the injunction law" was first applauded and other sections were warmly approved, and when the plank was finished the convention broke into cheers.

The declaration in favor of the election of Senators by direct vote was heartily applauded, as was the plank on waterways, and that in favor of the independence of the Philippines.

The reading of the platform was finished at 12.56, Governor Haskell having read for a few minutes less than one hour.

"Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report," said Governor Haskell, turning to the chairman.

"The question is on agreeing to the report of the Committee on Platform. All in favor of the platform as read will signify by saying 'Aye,'" announced Chairman Clayton.

The chorus of affirmative votes was unanimous and the adoption of the platform was loudly cheered.

John E. Lamb, of Indiana, reported from the Committee on Resolutions a recommendation that the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln be appropriately observed throughout the country.

After the ayes had chorused their approval Chairman Clayton declared the vote unanimous.

When the call of the roll of the States for Presidential nominations was resumed Florida yielded to Augustus Thomas, of Missouri, who made one of the most eloquent seconding speeches in behalf of Mr. Bryan.



The roll call continued until all the States had expressed themselves by a speech or remained silent.

The Territories of the District of Columbia, Hawaii and Porto Rico all seconded Mr. Bryan, and the list was complete.

"If there are no other nominations," said Chairman Clayton, "the secretary will call the roll of States," and the vote was begun.

#### ROLL OF STATES BEGINS.

Thomas F. Smith, secretary of Tammany Hall, was selected as the clerk to read the roll of the States, which was done, each State voting as called, and the votes were recorded by the clerk.

When Oklahoma was called the chairman announced, "Oklahoma casts her eighteen maiden votes for William Jennings Bryan."

When Pennsylvania was reached Bryan needed only forty-eight votes to make his nomination sure, and Pennsylvania giving him forty-nine and one-half, made him the party nominee.

Before the vote was announced Mr. Hammond, who had placed Mr. Johnson in nomination, moved to make unanimous the nomination of Mr. Bryan, saying Minnesota knew how to lose well, as it did how to fight well.

A great cheer broke from the throng.

For Judge Gray, Murray Vandiver, of Maryland, and a delegate from Delaware seconded the motion of Mr. Hammond. There came cries of "Georgia!" "Get Georgia in!" That State, after a short pause, declared that it also seconded the motion, which on being put by the chairman, was carried with a roar. H. H. Elders, of Georgia, alone voted in the negative.

"I now declare William J. Bryan to be the nominee of the Democratic party for President of the United States," said Chairman Clayton, and the delegates gave one wild cheer and began to move toward the doors. A motion to adjourn until 1 P. M. Friday was carried with a whoop, and at 3.42 A. M. the convention adjourned. The big clock in the balcony, however, still marked the hour of midnight Thursday. It had been stopped by the sergeant-at-arms, to avoid the appearance of nominating the candidate on Friday.

The detailed vote was not announced that night, but it stood as follows: Bryan, 892½; Gray, 59½; Johnson, 46; absent and not voting, 8.

The following table shows the vote by States :

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION VOTE FOR PRESIDENT BY STATES.

<i>Votes.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Bryan.</i>	<i>Gray.</i>	<i>Johnson.</i>	<i>Not Voting.</i>
22	Alabama .....	22	..	..	..
18	Arkansas .....	18	..	..	..
20	California .....	20	..	..	..
10	Colorado .....	10	..	..	..
14	Connecticut .....	9	..	5	..
6	Delaware .....	..	6	..	..
10	Florida .....	10	..	..	..
26	Georgia .....	4	20	2	..
6	Idaho .....	6	..	..	..
54	Illinois .....	54	..	..	..
30	Indiana .....	30	..	..	..
26	Iowa .....	26	..	..	..
20	Kansas .....	20	..	..	..
26	Kentucky .....	26	..	..	..
18	Louisiana .....	18	..	..	..
12	Maine .....	10	..	1	1
16	Maryland .....	7	..	9	..
32	Massachusetts .....	32	..	..	..
28	Michigan .....	28	..	..	..
22	Minnesota .....	..	..	22	..
20	Mississippi .....	20	..	..	..
36	Missouri .....	36	..	..	..
6	Montana .....	6	..	..	..
16	Nebraska .....	16	..	..	..
6	Nevada .....	6	..	..	..
8	New Hampshire .....	7	..	1	..
24	New Jersey .....	..	24	..	..
78	New York .....	78	..	..	..
24	North Carolina .....	24	..	..	..
8	North Dakota .....	8	..	..	..
46	Ohio .....	46	..	..	..
18	Oklahoma .....	18	..	..	..
8	Oregon .....	8	..	..	..

68	Pennsylvania .....	49½	9½	3	6
8	Rhode Island .....	5	..	3	..
18	South Carolina .....	18	..	..	..
8	South Dakota .....	8	..	..	..
24	Tennessee .....	24	..	..	..
36	Texas .....	36	..	..	..
6	Utah .....	6	..	..	..
8	Vermont .....	7	..	..	1
24	Virginia .....	24	..	..	..
10	Washington .....	10	..	..	..
14	West Virginia .....	14	..	..	..
26	Wisconsin .....	26	..	..	..
6	Wyoming .....	6	..	..	..
6	Alaska .....	6	..	..	..
6	Arizona .....	6	..	..	..
6	District of Columbia ...	6	..	..	..
6	Hawaii .....	6	..	..	..
6	New Mexico .....	6	..	..	..
6	Porto Rico .....	6	..	..	..
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1,006	Total .....	892½	59½	46	8

## LAST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

NOMINATION OF JOHN W. KERN FOR VICE-PRESIDENT MADE BY  
ACCLAMATION.

The Democratic National Convention reassembled to nominate a candidate for Vice-President at 1.40 o'clock Friday afternoon, July 10th, when Chairman Clayton rapped for order. Vice-Presidential conferences were in progress all over the hall. Rev. Martin Corbett, of Westfield, N. Y., delivered the invocation.

## OLLIE JAMES PRESIDES.

Ollie James, of Kentucky, took the gavel.

On motion of Senator Stone, of Missouri, nominating speeches were limited to ten minutes and seconding speeches to five minutes.

Mr. James directed the call of States to proceed. "Alabama!" came the call.



"Alabama yields to Indiana," replied the chairman of the delegation. The followers of John W. Kern cheered lustily as T. R. Marshall, Democratic candidate for Governor of Indiana, was sent to the platform to offer Mr. Kern's name as the head of the list. Mr. Marshall paid tribute first to the platform of the convention, next to Mr. Bryan, then to Indiana, and last to Mr. Kern. A convention which had begun well should end well, he said. He asserted that Mr. Kern had all the qualifications that could be desired and would be a standard bearer worthy of a united Democracy.

When Colorado was reached on the roll ex-Governor Charles S. Thomas, of that State, took the platform to place Charles A. Towne, of New York, in nomination.

Connecticut was next to place its candidate in nomination, sending J. J. Walsh to the platform to name Archibald McNeil, of Bridgeport.

Delaware yielded her place on the roll call to Georgia, and L. I. Hill, from the latter State, in a few words placed Clark Howell, of Atlanta, in nomination.

Mr. James yielded the gavel to James Hamilton Lewis, of Chicago, who recognized Frederick Kern, of Illinois, as his first official act, and when Kentucky was called seconded the nomination of Mr. Kern as "one of the knightliest Democrats in the world."

State after State was called, and no new candidates were presented. Many of the spokesmen named a favorite they had intended to champion, but all came together in seconding the nomination of Mr. Kern.

Finally Chairman Clayton, who had now resumed the gavel, caused a surprise by announcing the recognition of Mr. Towne.

#### TOWNE RETIRES IN KERN'S FAVOR.

"It has become abundantly apparent what is the desire of this convention as to its Vice-Presidential nomination," said Mr. Towne, after the applause had subsided, "and I desire, while earnestly thanking the friends who have complimented me by placing my name before you, to release you from its further consideration and leave you free to vote for that splendid old Democratic war horse from Indiana, John W. Kern."

Mr. Towne closed by pledging loyal support to Bryan and Kern.

Other candidates were hastily withdrawn and allegiance pledged to Kern.

#### NEW YORK PROMISES SUPPORT.

Senator Grady, of New York, asked that the State be called again. The request was granted, and Daniel F. Cohalan went to the platform.

"New York," said Mr. Cohalan, "came to the convention without a candidate either for the Vice-Presidency or the Presidency. We were under instructions from our State convention to consult with leaders from all parts of the country to see what best might be done for the party. We are convinced that the voice of the party in no uncertain terms called for the nomination of William Jennings Bryan, and we now feel there is the same call for Mr. Kern. New York, therefore, desires to second Mr. Kern, and in behalf of the militant Democracy of the Empire State I desire to pledge our earnest support and to say to you that all that can be done by harmony, intellect, energy or force to bring about victory in November for our ticket will be done."

Mr. Cohalan was loudly cheered.

A motion was made and seconded that Kern be nominated by acclamation.

"Gentlemen of the convention," said Mr. James, who was again in the chair, "you have just heard the motion. Are you ready for the question?"

"Question," "question," came from all parts of the hall.

Mr. James stated it, and at 4.05 o'clock a roar of ayes made John W. Kern, of Indiana, the nominee for Vice-President of the Democratic party.

The convention was instantly in great confusion, and was brought back to order with difficulty.

A large number of resolutions and motions were offered, and by their adoption the national committee was directed to fill any vacancies that may occur on the national ticket just nominated, and the various central and State committees were empowered to fill any vacancies from their States on the national committee.

A motion was adopted tendering the thanks of the convention to Thomas Taggart, the retiring chairman of the national committee, for his work.

Other resolutions expressed the thanks of the convention to the city of Denver because of the manner in which it had entertained the delegates, and to Permanent Chairman Clayton and Temporary Chairman Bell for the ability with which they had conducted the sessions of the convention.

Another resolution, adopted with a cheer, appointed Mr. Clayton chairman of the committee selected to inform Mr. Bryan of his nomination, and Mr. Bell chairman of the committee to inform Mr. Kern. Each committee consisted of one member from each State and Territory.

The Rev. P. T. Ramsey, of Denver, was invited to offer a benediction before a motion to adjourn should be put.

The adjournment occurred at 4.23 P. M. The crowd made a rush for the door, and the convention ended.



## CHAPTER XI.

### PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, ADOPTED AT DENVER, JULY 9, 1908.

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The following resolutions, constituting the platform of the Democratic party, were presented to the convention at midnight, July 9th, and adopted unanimously:

We, the representatives of the Democrats of the United States, in national convention assembled, reaffirm our belief in and pledge our loyalty to the principles of the party.

We rejoice at the increasing signs of an awakening throughout the country. The various investigations have traced graft and political corruption to the representatives of predatory wealth, and laid bare the unscrupulous methods by which they have debauched elections and preyed upon a defenseless public through the subservient officials whom they have raised to place and power.

The conscience of the nation is now aroused to free the government from the grip of those who have made it a business asset of the favor-seeking corporations; it must become again a people's government, and be administered in all its departments according to the Jeffersonian maxim of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

"Shall the people rule?" is the overshadowing issue which manifests itself in all the questions now under discussion.

#### ANTI-INJUNCTION.

The courts of justice are the bulwark of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished judges, who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department must be jealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican party to raise false issues respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT AND HIS FAMILY LIFE.

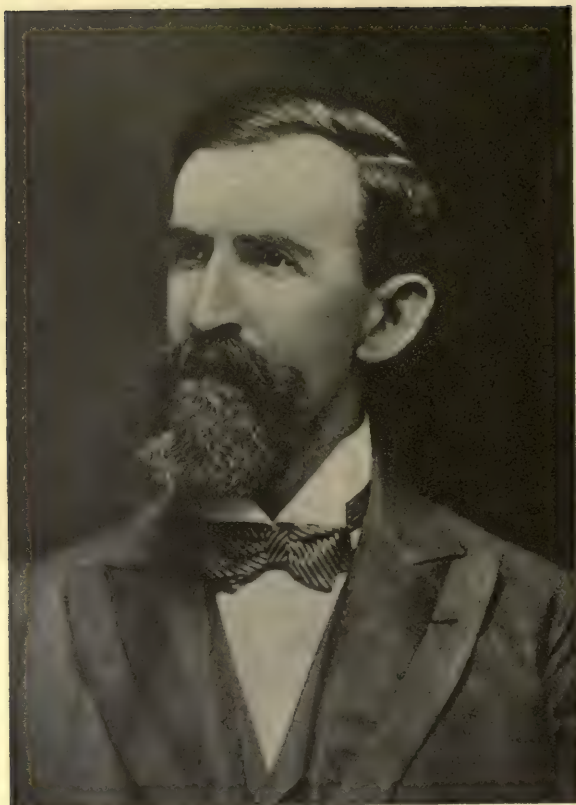


The group shows Mr. and Mrs. Bryan, his two daughters, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Leavitt and Miss Grace Bryan; one of his grandchildren is in Mr. Bryan's arms.

A Recent Portrait of William Jennings Bryan.

Mr. Bryan's Birthplace.

New Home, Lincoln, Neb.



**JOHN WORTH KERN**

**Democratic Nominee for Vice-President of the United States.**



upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts.

It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people create, and if the laws appear to work economic or political injustice it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can stand is that of unswerving justice and protection of life, personal liberty and property. If judicial processes may be abused, we should guard them against abuse.

Experience has proven the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunctions, and we reiterate the pledge of our national platforms of 1896 and 1904 in favor of the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

Questions of judicial practice have arisen, especially in connection with industrial disputes. We deem that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality, and that injunctions should not be issued in any cases in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved.

The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgment of the right of wage-earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

We favor the eight-hour day on all government work.

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law by Congress, as far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, for a general employers' liability act, covering injury to body or loss of life of employees.

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law creating a department of labor, represented separately in the President's Cabinet, which department shall include the subject of mines and mining.

#### TARIFF.

We welcome the belated promise of tariff reform now affected by the Republican party in tardy recollection of the righteousness of

the Democratic party on this question, but the people cannot safely intrust the execution of this important work to a party which is so deeply obligated to the highly protected interests as is the Republican party.

We call attention to the significant fact that the promised relief was postponed until after the coming election—an election to succeed in which the Republican party must have that same support from the beneficiaries of the high protective tariff as it has always heretofore received from them; and to the further fact that during years of uninterrupted power no action whatever has been taken by the Republican Congress to correct the admittedly existing tariff iniquities.

We favor immediate revision of the tariff by the reduction of import duties. Articles entering into competition with trust controlled products should be placed upon the free list; and material reductions should be made in the tariff upon the necessities of life, and especially upon articles competing with such American manufactures as are sold abroad more cheaply than at home; and graduate reductions should be made in such other schedules as may be necessary to restore the tariff to a revenue basis.

Existing duties have given to the manufacturers of paper a shelter behind which they have organized combinations to raise the price of pulp and of paper, thus imposing a tax upon the spread of knowledge. We demand the immediate repeal of the tariff on pulp, print paper, lumber, timber and logs, and that these articles be placed upon the free list.

#### RAILROADS.

We assert the right of Congress to exercise complete control over interstate commerce and the right of each State to exercise like control over commerce within its borders.

We demand such enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission as may be necessary to compel railroads to perform their duties as common carriers and prevent discrimination and extortion.

We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads engaged in interstate commerce, and to this end we recommend the valuation of railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost and cost of reproduction and all elements of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

We favor such legislation as will prohibit the railroads from engaging in business which brings them into competition with their shippers; also legislation which will assure such reduction in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reductions that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service or do injustice to legitimate investments.

We heartily approve the law prohibiting the pass and the rebate, and we favor any further necessary legislation to restrain, control and prevent such abuses.

We favor such legislation as will increase the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, giving to it the initiative with reference to rates and transportation charges put into effect by the railroad companies, and permitting the Interstate Commerce Commission, on its own initiative, to declare a rate illegal and as being more than should be charged for such service. The present law relating thereto is inadequate by reason of the fact that the Interstate Commerce Commission is without power to fix or investigate a rate until complaint has been made to it by the shipper.

We further declare that all agreements of traffic or other associations of railway agents affecting interstate rates, service or classification shall be unlawful unless filed with and approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

We favor the enactment of a law giving to the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to inspect proposed railroad tariff rates or schedules before they shall take effect, and if they be found to be unreasonable to initiate an adjustment thereof.

#### TRUSTS.

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal law against guilty trust magnates and officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States. Among the additional remedies we specify three:

First, a law preventing a duplication of directors among competing corporations; second, a license system which will, without abridging the right of each State to create corporations or its right to regulate as it will foreign corporations doing business within its



limits, make it necessary for a manufacturing or trading corporation engaged in interstate commerce to take out a Federal license before it shall be permitted to control as much as twenty-five per cent of the product in which it deals, the license to protect the public from watered stock and to prohibit the control by such corporation of more than fifty per cent of the total amount of any product consumed in the United States, and third, a law compelling such licensed corporations to sell to all purchasers in all parts of the country on the same terms, after making due allowance for costs of transportation.

#### BANKING.

The panic of 1907, coming without any legitimate excuse, when the Republican party had for a decade been in complete control of the Federal Government, furnishes additional proof that it is either unwilling or incompetent to protect the interests of the general public. It has so linked the country to Wall Street that the sins of the speculators are visited upon the whole people.

While refusing to rescue wealth producers from spoliation at the hands of the stock gamblers and speculators in farm products, it has deposited treasury funds, without interest and without competition, in favorite banks. It has used an emergency for which it is largely responsible to force through Congress a bill changing the basis of bank currency and inviting market manipulation, and has failed to give to the fifteen million depositors of the country protection in their savings.

We believe that, in so far as the needs of commerce require an emergency currency, such currency should be issued, controlled by the Federal Government and loaned on adequate security to national and State banks.

We pledge ourselves to legislation under which the national banks shall be required to establish a guaranty fund for the prompt payment of the depositors of any insolvent national bank under an equitable system which shall be available to all State banking institutions wishing to use it.

We favor a postal savings bank if the guaranteed bank cannot be secured, and that it be constituted so as to keep the deposited money in the communities where it is established. But we condemn the policy of the Republican party in proposing postal savings banks

under a plan of conduct by which they will aggregate the deposits of rural communities and redeposit the same while under government charge in the banks of Wall Street, thus depleting the circulating medium of the producing regions and unjustly favoring the speculative market.

#### STATE'S RIGHTS.

Believing, with Jefferson, in "the support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies," and in "the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and the safety abroad," we are opposed to the centralization implied in these suggestions, now frequently made, that the powers of the general government should be extended by judicial construction.

There is no twilight zone between the nation and the State in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both; and it is as necessary that the Federal Government shall exercise the powers delegated to it as it is that the State governments shall use the authority reserved to them, but we insist that Federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly shall be added to, not substituted for, State remedies.

#### CAMPAIGN PUBLICITY.

We demand Federal legislation forever terminating the partnership which has existed between corporations of the country and the Republican party under the expressed or implied agreement that in return for the contribution of great sums of money wherewith to purchase elections they should be allowed to continue substantially unmolested in their efforts to encroach upon the rights of the people.

Any reasonable doubt as to the existence of this relation has been forever dispelled by the sworn testimony of witnesses examined in the insurance investigation in New York and the open admission unchallenged by the Republican National Committee of a single individual that he himself, at the personal request of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, raised over a quarter of a million of dollars to be used in a single State during the closing hours of the last campaign.

In order that this practice shall be stopped for all time we demand the passage of a statute punishing with imprisonment any officer of a corporation who shall either contribute on behalf of or consent to the contribution by a corporation of any money or thing of value to be used in furthering the election of a President or Vice-President of the United States or of any member of the Congress thereof.

We denounce the action of the Republican party having complete control of the Federal Government for its failure to pass the bill, introduced in the last Congress, to compel the publication of the names of contributors and the amounts contributed toward campaign funds, and point to the evidence of their insincerity when they sought by an absolutely irrelevant and impossible amendment to defeat the passage of the bill.

As a further evidence of their intention to conduct their campaign in the coming contest with vast sums of money wrested from favor-seeking corporations, we call attention to the fact that the recent Republican National Convention refused, when the plank was presented to it, to declare against such practices.

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law preventing any corporation contributing to a campaign fund and any individual from contributing an amount above a reasonable minimum, and providing for the publication before election of all such contributions above the reasonable minimum.

#### INCOME TAX.

We favor an income tax as part of our revenue system, and we urge the submission of a constitutional amendment specifically authorizing Congress to levy and collect a tax upon individual and corporate incomes, to the end that wealth may bear its proportionate share of the burdens of the Federal Government.

#### ECONOMY.

The Republican Congress, in session just ended, has made appropriations amounting to \$1,008,000,000, exceeding the total expenditures of the past fiscal year by \$90,000,000, and leaving a deficit of more than \$60,000,000 for the fiscal year. We denounce the needless waste of the people's money which has resulted in this appalling



increase as a shameful violation of all prudent conditions of government, and as no less than a crime against the millions of workingmen and women from whose earnings the great proportion of these colossal sums must be extorted through excessive tariff exactions and other indirect methods.

It is not surprising that, in the face of this shocking record, the Republican platform contains no reference to economical administration or promise thereof in the future. We demand that a stop be put to this frightful extravagance and insist upon the strictest economy in every department compatible with frugal and efficient administration.

#### SPEAKER.

The House of Representatives was designed by the fathers of the Constitution to be the popular branch of our government, responsible to the public will.

The House of Representatives, as controlled in recent years by the Republican party, has ceased to be a deliberative and legislative body, responsive to the will of a majority of its members, but has come under the absolute domination of the Speaker, who has entire control of its deliberations and powers of legislation.

We have observed with amazement the popular branch of our Federal Government helpless to obtain either the consideration or enactment of measures desired by a majority of its members.

Legislative government becomes a failure when one member in the person of the Speaker is more powerful than the entire body.

We demand that the House of Representatives shall again become a deliberative body, controlled by a majority of the people's representatives and not by the Speaker, and we pledge ourselves to adopt such rules and regulations to govern the House of Representatives as will enable a majority of its members to direct its deliberations and control legislation.

#### OFFICEHOLDERS.

Coincident with the enormous increase in expenditures is a like addition to the number of officeholders. During the past year 23,784 were added, costing \$16,156,000, and in the past six years of the Republican administration the total number of new ones created, aside from many commissions, has been 99,319, entailing an addi-

tional expenditure of nearly \$70,000,000, as against only 10,279 new offices created under the Cleveland and McKinley administrations, which involved an expenditure of only \$6,000,000.

We denounce this great and growing increase in the number of officeholders as not only unnecessary and wasteful, but also as clearly indicating a deliberate purpose on the part of the administration to keep the Republican party in power at public expense by thus increasing the number of its retainers and dependents. Such procedure we declare to be no less dangerous and corrupt than the open purchase of votes at the polls.

#### WATERWAYS.

Water furnishes the cheapest means of transportation, and the National Government, having the control of navigable waters, should improve them to their fullest capacity. We earnestly favor the immediate adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for improving every water course in the Union which is justified by the needs of commerce, and, to secure that end, we favor, when practicable, the connection of the Great Lakes with the navigable rivers and with the Gulf through the Mississippi River, and the navigable rivers with each other, and the rivers, bays and sounds of our coasts with each other by artificial canals, with a view to perfecting a system of inland waterways, to be navigated by vessels of standard draught.

We favor the co-ordination of the various services of the government connected with waterways, in one service, for the purpose of aiding in the completion of such a system of inland waterways, and we favor the creation of a fund ample for continuous work, which shall be conducted under the direction of a commission of experts to be authorized by law.

#### MERCHANT MARINE.

We believe in the upbuilding of the American and merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury.

#### PROTECTING AMERICANS.

We pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad, and to use all proper methods to

secure for them, whether native born or naturalized and without distinction of race or creed, the protection of law and the enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under our treaty; and if, under existing treaties, the right of travel and sojourn is denied to American citizens or recognition is withheld from American passports by any country on the ground of race or creed we favor prompt negotiations with the governments of such countries to secure the removal of these unjust discriminations.

We demand that all over the world a duly authorized passport issued by the Government of the United States to an American citizen shall be proof of the fact that he is an American citizen and shall entitle him to the treatment due him as such.

#### PATRONAGE.

We condemn, as a violation of the spirit of our institutions, the action of the present Chief Executive in using the patronage of his high office to secure the nomination of one of his Cabinet officers. A forced succession in the Presidency is scarcely less repugnant to public sentiment than is life tenure in that office. No good intention on the part of the Executive and no virtue in the one selected can justify the establishment of a dynasty. The right of the people to freely select their officials is inalienable and cannot be delegated.

#### PHILIPPINES.

We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder, which has involved us in an enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandoning a fundamental doctrine of self-government.

We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us as we guarantee the independence of Cuba, until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers.

In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.



## THE NAVY.

The constitutional provision that a navy shall be provided and maintained means an adequate navy, and we believe that the interests of this country would be best served by having a navy sufficient to defend the coasts of this country and protect American citizens wherever their rights may be in jeopardy.

## IMMIGRATION.

We favor full protection, by both national and State governments within their respective spheres, of all foreigners residing in the United States under treaty, but we are opposed to the admission of Asiatic immigrants who cannot be amalgamated with our population or whose presence among us would raise a race issue and involve us in diplomatic controversies with Oriental powers.

## GRAZING LANDS.

The establishment of rules and regulations, if any such are necessary, in relation to free grazing upon the public lands outside of forest or other reservations, until the same shall eventually be disposed of, should be left to the people of the States respectively in which such lands may be situated.

## AGRICULTURE.

The Democratic party favors the extension of agricultural, mechanical and industrial education. We therefore favor the establishment of district agricultural experiment stations, the secondary agricultural and mechanical colleges in the several States.

## HEALTH BUREAU.

We advocate the organization of all existing national public health agencies into a national bureau of public health, with such power over sanitary conditions connected with factories, mines, tenements, child labor and such other subjects as are properly within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government and do not interfere with the power of the States controlling public health agencies.

## NATURAL RESOURCES.

We repeat the demand for international development and for the conservation of our natural resources contained in previous platforms,

the enforcement of which Mr. Roosevelt has vainly sought from a reluctant party, and to that end we insist upon the preservation, protection and replacement of needed forests, the preservation of the public domain for homeseekers, the protection of the national resources in timber, coal, iron and oil against monopolistic control, the development of our waterways for navigation and every other useful purpose, including the irrigation of arid lands, the reclamation of swamp lands, the clarification of streams, the development of water power and the preservation of electric power generated by this natural force from the control of monopoly, and to such end we urge the exercise of all powers, national, State and municipal, both separately and in co-operation.

We insist upon a policy of administration of our forest reserve which shall relieve it of the abuses which have arisen thereunder, and which shall, as far as practicable, conform to the police regulations of the several States where they are located which shall enable homesteaders as of right to occupy and acquire title to all portions thereof which are especially adapted to agriculture, and which shall furnish a system of timber sales available as well to the private citizen as to the large manufacturer and consumer.

#### TELEGRAPH ; TELEPHONE.

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law to regulate the rates and services of telegraph and telephone companies engaged in the transmission of messages between the States, under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

#### POST ROADS.

We favor Federal aid to State and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

#### CIVIL SERVICE.

The laws pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than services rendered to a political party.

## PENSIONS.

We favor a generous pension policy, both as a matter of justice to the surviving veterans and their dependents, and because it tends to relieve the country of the necessity of maintaining a large standing army.

## FOREIGN PATENTS.

We believe that where an American citizen holding a patent in a foreign country is compelled to manufacture under his patent within a certain time, similar restrictions should be applied in this country to the citizens or subjects of such a country.

## SENATORS.

We favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people and regard this reform as the gateway to other national reforms.

## ARIZONA; NEW MEXICO.

The national Democratic party has for the last sixteen years labored for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate States of the Federal Union, and, recognizing that each possesses every qualification to successfully maintain separate State governments, we favor the immediate admission of these Territories as separate States.

## OKLAHOMA.

We welcome Oklahoma to the sisterhood of States and heartily congratulate her on the auspicious beginning of a great career.

## ALASKA; PORTO RICO.

We demand for the people of Alaska and Porto Rico the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a territorial form of government and the officials appointed to administer the government of all Territories and the District of Columbia should be thoroughly qualified by previous *bona fide* residence.

## HAWAII.

We favor the application of principles of the land laws of the United States to our newly acquired territory, Hawaii, to the end that the public lands of that Territory may be held and utilized for the benefit of *bona fide* homesteaders.



## PANAMA CANAL.

We believe the Panama Canal will prove of great value to our country and favor its speedy completion.

## PAN-AMERICA.

The Democratic party recognizes the chances and advantages of developing closer ties of American friendship and commerce between the United States and her sister nations of Latin America, and favors the taking such steps, consistent with Democratic policies, for better acquaintance, greater mutual confidence and larger exchange of trade, as will bring lasting benefit not only to the United States, but to this group of American republics having constitutions, forms of government, ambitions and interests akin to our own.

## CONCLUSION.

The Democratic party stands for democracy; the Republican party has drawn to itself all that is aristocratic and plutocratic. The Democratic party is the champion of equal rights and opportunities to all; the Republican party is the party of privilege and private monopoly. The Democratic party listens to the voice of the whole people and gauges progress by the prosperity and advancement of the average man; the Republican party is subservient to the comparatively few who are the beneficiaries of governmental favoritism.

We invite the co-operation of all, regardless of previous political affiliation or past differences, who desire to preserve a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," and who favor such an administration of the government as will insure, as far as human wisdom can, that each citizen shall draw from society a reward commensurate with his contribution to the welfare of society.

## CHAPTER XII.

### WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, 1908.

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William Jennings Bryan is perhaps the foremost orator among American statesmen of the day. He is regarded by a large following to be the most wonderful man who has appeared in the public life of our country in the past forty-five years. If this strong assertion be denied by those who have not kept pace with his career since he arose with a suddenness that startled the country in 1896, to a pre-eminent command which he has since maintained, let us ask: When in political history have we seen another man lead a hopeless cause twice to defeat against extraordinary odds and, after being twice defeated in national elections, not only survive the defeat but maintain the leadership and gather unto himself the growing respect of his party and come a third time stronger than ever before the public?

William J. Bryan's career has no parallel in American history. Blaine came closer to the Presidency than he; Webster and Clay were almost or quite as near the goal. Blaine lost it by scarcely a thousand votes. The defeat of these men, however, cost them their prestige, embittered their lives and quickened their departure from life's activities. Not so with Mr. Bryan. He has arisen stronger from each defeat. His mental activities seem to be invigorated by each losing contest, and his genial love for his fellowman and cheerful hopefulness were augmented rather than diminished, so that to-day he stands before the country at once the prophet of his party, and the leader, to whom all eyes instinctively turn from the heads, of seven or eight million families in the United States. The loyalty of his adherents is truly wonderful and his fame is spread far beyond the bounds of his own political camp. Those who came in 1896 to scoff, stand at respectful attention in 1908, and political friends and foes alike agree in saying, if the Democrats win the victory in this contest it will be due more largely, than to any other man or combination of men, to the personal influence and power of William Jennings Bryan.

## BRYAN'S PERSONAL POPULARITY.

However wide the diversity of opinion about Bryan the statesman, it is balanced by an almost unanimous judgment favorable to Bryan the man.

From every standpoint from which manhood can be judged, Mr. Bryan shows up to superb advantage. No man who has been in the scorching glare of the limelight for so long a time presents to the country a character more spotless. Straightforward in his public utterances and positions, irreproachable in his private life, a total abstainer who never hesitates to proclaim it even to his personal disadvantage, taking his religion into his daily life and making it a practice to sacrifice something for it, Mr. Bryan stands as one of the very best representatives of true American manhood. Hundreds of thousands of men believe that some of the policies which he has advocated would ruin the country. Hundreds of thousands of others believe his policies would save the country. However that may be, no one whose eyesight is not blurred by partisan hate can look at him without feeling that he is a man of whom the country should be proud.

## BIRTH AND ANCESTRY.

William Jennings Bryan was born at Salem, Ill., March 19, 1860. His ancestry is a mixture of English and Irish stock, but resident in America for many generations. On his mother's side he gets from the Jennings family the bull-dog tenacity of the English, from his father the strength, the wit, the humor and the eloquence that distinguishes the Irishman.

The influence of his father, Judge Silas L. Bryan, contributed much to forming the character of his son. He was a Virginian, born November 4, 1822, as one of a family of ten children. When a boy he removed to Illinois, and by working on the farm and teaching school made his way through McKendree College, graduating at the age of twenty-seven. At twenty-nine he was admitted to the Bar and began the practice of law. At thirty he married Maria Elizabeth Jennings, one of his former pupils. The same year he was elected to the State Senate, in which he served eight years, being occasionally associated with Abraham Lincoln. In 1860, the year Lincoln was elected President and the year this now famous son was born, Silas



Bryan became Circuit Judge, which position he held for twelve years, resigning to accept the Democratic nomination to Congress in 1872. He was also endorsed by the Greenback Party, but was defeated by a small majority. The same year he went as a delegate to the convention that framed the present constitution of Illinois. He urged before the convention the adoption of measures providing for the election of all legislative and judicial officials by the direct vote of the people. The disposition to trust the people and the very liberal and very radical democratic doctrines that the elder Bryan urged at that time, modified to fit the present conditions, are very like those proclaimed and urged by his son to-day.

The boy, William J. Bryan, was at that time twelve years of age. He was a great admirer of his father, and had already determined to follow his footsteps in the law. He took a deep interest in the constitutional convention, and this and the excitement of the race for Congress gave him his first political awakening; and he then positively decided to enter public life, as soon as he could win a reputation and a competency at the bar. Other characteristics of the elder Bryan were his deep religious convictions, upright personal life and piety. His church membership was with the Baptists, but his liberality, it is said, gave him the friendship of all the ministers in Salem, and he contributed to the support of them all. His wife was as loyal a Methodist as he was a Baptist. They left the boy to consult his own wishes as to church association, and at the age of fourteen he "split the difference" by joining the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. While in college at Jacksonville a few years later he united with the regular Presbyterians, and his membership is with that church now at Lincoln, Neb., but he most frequently worships with his family at the little Methodist church near his home, "Fairview."

From the above sketch of his parents, briefly outlined, one may surmise that the political principles of William J. Bryan are his, if not by inheritance at least by education and training from the cradle—stamped and woven into the very fabric of his being, during the formative years of childhood and youth. His deep religious convictions, as well as his liberality in religious matters, are doubtless traceable to the same source.

## EDUCATION AND EARLY TRAINING IN ORATORY.

Bryan was educated in the Salem, Ill., public schools, at Whipple Academy, and in Illinois College, at Jacksonville. He began his political career in 1880 while a student in college. During that year he made four speeches in favor of Hancock and English, the Democratic nominees for President and Vice-President. For years previous he had been assiduously practicing the art of public speaking. At the age of eighteen he won first prize at college with an oration on "Labor," which indicates his early interest in that subject. Two years later, in 1880, in an intercollegiate contest, he won a fifty-dollar prize with an oration on "Justice." When he graduated, in June, 1881, he was elected class orator, and by virtue of holding the highest standing in his class was made also valedictorian. His address was on the subject of "Character," illustrated with incidents from the lives of great men of sacred and secular history, manifesting a far deeper study and thought than young men are accustomed to make on these subjects. The address, while not without certain faults of composition, clearly sets forth the supreme value of character, and suggested that the young man had already adopted the principles and chosen the models, the following of which have made him great.

## STUDY AND PRACTICE OF LAW.

Mr. Bryan received his legal education in Union College of Law at Chicago, where he took special interest in constitutional law and was always active in debating societies. On July 4, 1883, Bryan began the practice of law in Jacksonville, Ill., and in October, 1884, was married to Miss Mary Baird, who has been his helpful companion in the true sense of the word. Aside from her duties as wife and mother, in order that she might help her husband she studied law, and was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court. Thus qualified to assist her distinguished husband, she enters enthusiastically into his work. She is a stenographer and typewriter and acts as his correspondent and secretary in important matters.

## REMOVED TO NEBRASKA.

In 1887 Mr. Bryan removed from Illinois to Lincoln, Neb., and formed a partnership with his former law classmate and friend, A.

R. Talbot. In a few months he had a practice sufficient to support his family, and they joined him in Lincoln, where they have since resided. Mr. Bryan promptly connected himself with the Democratic organization. In 1888 he made his first political speech, and was sent as delegate to the State convention. Thus he was drawn into the political arena. In that fall's campaign, which he entered, speaking for J. Sterling Morton, Democratic candidate for Congress, Mr. Morton was defeated, but Bryan won lasting laurels by the brilliancy and originality of thought and oratory.

#### ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

Two years later, 1890, Bryan himself was the party's nominee for Congress. He boldly challenged his Republican opponent, the Hon. W. J. Connell, who then represented the district, to a joint debate, and the challenge was confidently accepted by the older man. The contest was held at Lincoln. The auditorium was packed with friends of both speakers. In the summing up Bryan showed his skill as a debater, as well as his superb art as an orator. Each graceful sentence contained a clinching argument. The audience from surprise showed their pleasure, and finally their uncontrollable enthusiasm burst forth. From the end of that debate it became evident that the Republican majority was in danger of going over to the young aspirant, and when the count of votes was finally made, it was found that he had actually been elected by 6,713 ballots. Thus at the age of thirty years ended the active career of Bryan, the lawyer, and began the career of Bryan, the statesman. For four years he served his district in the national Congress at Washington, being one of the youngest and most prominent members in the House of Representatives.

#### NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT.

In 1893-1894 the Democrats in the Legislature of Nebraska supported Mr. Bryan for United States Senator, but he was defeated, as the Legislature had a Republican majority. During 1895 and 1896 Mr. Bryan served as editor-in-chief of the *Omaha-Nebraska World*. His editorials in this paper gave him an opportunity to express himself on the various political issues of the day, and they attracted wide attention. He was sent as a delegate to the National Democratic Convention, which met in Chicago in 1896. He was the



author of the free-coinage-of-silver plank inserted in that platform, and in its defence made the famous speech commonly known by the title of "The Cross of Gold." The effect of this speech was so profound that he was nominated by the convention for President of the United States. The convention of the People's Party also made him its nominee, and the Silver Republican Party did likewise. Mr. Bryan was then thirty-six years of age, remarkably strong and athletic. He at once began a political campaign, in which he covered most of the country east of the Rocky Mountains.

#### A WHIRLWIND CAMPAIGN.

He traveled over eighteen thousand miles during the campaign, speaking at almost every stopping of the train, and making a record unequalled by any orator of the world in point of distance traveled, and the number of speeches made in the same space of time. Perhaps never did the prominent candidate for any office conduct a campaign so nearly single handed and alone. The conservative and wealthy element of the Democratic Party, opposed to the free coinage of silver, held another convention and put a gold-standard ticket in the field, otherwise he would doubtless have been elected. The influential press of the country was almost solidly against him. No prominent newspaper in all the North and but few in the South gave him their support. Notwithstanding this Mr. Bryan received a larger popular vote than any defeated candidate up to that time had ever polled, but he was badly beaten in the Electoral College by McKinley, the Republican nominee.

In 1897 Mr. Bryan published his book entitled "The First Battle," which had an enormous sale and yielded him a royalty larger than the President's salary for a year. During this year and the next spring he also lectured extensively throughout the country, and wrote much for the magazines. In May, 1898, he organized the Third Nebraska Regiment of Volunteers for the Spanish-American War, became their colonel, and took them to Florida, where he remained in camp with them, but was not ordered to Cuba.

#### SECOND NOMINATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

In 1900 Mr. Bryan was again nominated for the Presidency by the Democratic, the Populist and the Silver-Republican Conventions. He and other leading Democrats, as well as many Republicans, had

vigorously opposed the purchase or at least the holding of the Philippine Islands, taken from Spain as a result of the war. Therefore anti-imperialism was the keynote of the platform and the paramount issue of the campaign. The Democratic ticket was again defeated by William McKinley with a larger plurality both in the popular and electoral vote.

After this second defeat many of Mr. Bryan's friends supposed him to be, in the parlance of slang, "done for," but the spirit of Bryan was undaunted. Conscious of his own honesty and confident of the correctness of his views and logic, he determined to keep up the fight. He had seen a vision of the "Ideal Republic," and he felt that he had a message for his countrymen that must be delivered. His old profession of the law held out her hands to tempt him with promises of sure and great reward. For a time he yielded, but found that it fettered him. Editorial positions were offered him, but connection with any paper belonging to another meant the curtailing of complete freedom of speech. He must speak untrammelled, out of his honest convictions, and, at great financial risk, he founded his own magazine, *The Commoner*, which he has since continued as sole proprietor and editor. As this paper has steadily grown and prospered its cognomen, "The Commoner," has attached itself as a nickname to William Jennings Bryan, for whom it stands as an appropriate descriptive title.

#### SUPPORTED JUDGE ALTON B. PARKER.

When the National Convention met in 1904 at St. Louis Mr. Bryan acquiesced in the naming of a candidate from the conservative wing of the party, and he entered the campaign as a speaker in behalf of Judge Alton B. Parker, the nominee, though it was well known that he personally objected to the conservatism of the platform adopted at that time. The result of the election justified Mr. Bryan's fear of conservatism. Judge Parker was defeated worse than Mr. Bryan had been, and, after making all allowance for Mr. Roosevelt's unusual popularity, the decadence of the Democratic Party seemed imminent.

#### BRYAN'S TOUR ABROAD.

Mr. Bryan went abroad, making a tour of the world, that he might study the governments and the peoples of other countries.

Notwithstanding his two defeats in the race for the Presidency, and the recent defeat of his party, his doings and his sayings were advertised perhaps more extensively than those of any other prominent American with the exception of President Roosevelt. By the force of his utterance while abroad and, in fact since 1896, without the aid of public office, he has been kept continually in the limelight and under the scrutiny of the national eye. His tour around the world received more attention perhaps than that of any other American except General Grant, made on his retirement after the end of his second term as President.

The rulers and dignitaries of the nations he visited showed Mr. Bryan honor befitting the highest national official, rather than a private citizen. They recognized in him, without office, the greatest individual leader of advanced thought on political reform in the New World, and they plied him with questions and besought him for interviews wherever he went. This attention abroad, and that shown him universally after his return, opened the eyes of friends and foes alike among his countrymen, and reconciled many who were estranged in his party, and stamped him at once as the leader and strongest candidate for the Democracy in 1908. Those who would get a more extended statement of the public services and career of Mr. Bryan are referred to the chapter on the "Democratic National Convention of 1908," in which will be found the speeches of I. J. Dunn placing him in nomination and of Governor Glenn, of North Carolina, seconding the same.

#### THE HOME AT FAIRVIEW.

Though only forty-eight years of age Mr. Bryan is a grandfather. His home life at "Fairview," Nebraska, is enlivened part of the time by the presence of the two children of his oldest daughter, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Leavitt, of whom the great commoner is very fond. Mr. and Mrs. Bryan are very popular in Lincoln and take delight in entertaining their friends at their "Fairview" country home. The son, William Jennings Bryan, Jr., and youngest daughter, Grace Dexter Bryan, just coming to maturity, are objects of much concern and interest to their parents, who are carefully educating them along practical lines. Mrs. Bryan says the oldest daughter is like her, the youngest daughter more like the father, and the son a good combination of both his parents.



## CHAPTER XIII.

JOHN WORTH KERN,

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT, 1908.

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While one of the most serious of men, one of the most logical speakers and one of the most formidable debaters, John W. Kern, like Abraham Lincoln, is a great story-teller. He was sitting in his shirt sleeves at the Indiana headquarters in Denver telling stories to a few friends when his admirers and supporters rushed in from the convention hall, Friday evening, July 10th, and informed him that he had been nominated as the running mate with William Jennings Bryan and greeted him as the next Vice-President of the United States.

"You were my candidate for this office fourteen years ago, and I've been for you ever since, John," said his old-time friend and schoolmate, Judge E. V. Long, as he wrung the hand of his boyhood friend. "We'll carry Kansas for you!" shouted some of the Kansas men who came marching up. "And we'll carry Indiana," replied Mr. Kern with a pleasant smile. "The chances for Democratic success are excellent. If the people in the other States feel as they do in Indiana we shall win easily. I feel very much gratified at my nomination," and no one who looked into the kindling eye of the Vice-Presidential candidate doubted that he meant every word he said, both as to his confidence in carrying the country for the Democratic ticket and his personal gratification at the part assigned to him in the contest.

The warmest personal friendship exists between Mr. Bryan and the Vice-Presidential candidate. Although he never agreed with Mr. Bryan on the "free silver" question, he was and is with him in everything else, and in some respects is even more of a reformer. He supported the Nebraskan vigorously in both his former contests for the Presidency.

It was in the campaign of 1896, when so many Democrats of

prominence were opposed to Bryan on account of the silver question, that Kern won the esteem of Mr. Bryan and received many marks of his favor.

Though not a polished orator, John W. Kern is a forcible and logical speaker and a campaigner of extraordinary tact and ability. He tells a story illustrative of his position on any question well, and has the faculty of getting a crowd in sympathy with him wherever he speaks. He is thoroughly acquainted in Indiana and has made two creditable though losing campaigns as the party's nominee for Governor. In each election, however, he led his ticket, and both the campaign and the casting of the ballots showed that he had strength outside of his party.

#### LOYALTY TO HIS PARTY.

Mr. Kern always has been a staunch party man. In the preliminary campaign of 1896, when there was such a determined free silver sentiment and it seemed inevitable that the approaching Democratic State convention would indorse free silver, he opposed it.

When State and national conventions had spoken on the subject he declared his allegiance to the party and went into the campaign that followed and did his utmost to elect Bryan. His preconvention utterances were hurled at him by the opposition press and by orators. He answered that the highest law in a party is its platform utterances and that it was the duty of a man to obey its voice or get out. As he was a Democrat he yielded cheerfully his individual opinion, before the larger and more potent voice of the organization of which he was a member.

Briefly outlined in statistical form, the life of John W. Kern is as follows:

John W. Kern was born in Howard County, Indiana, December 20, 1849. His father was a country physician, and it is said the precocious boy John was so far advanced at the age of seven years that he read his father's medical books with ease and a fair understanding. He always easily led his classes at school. He graduated at the University of Michigan when he was twenty years old—in 1869. He was a reporter of the Supreme Court of Indiana from 1869 to 1885. In 1892 he was made a State Senator and served in that position until 1896. From 1897 to 1901 he was City Attorney

of Indianapolis. It was while he occupied the position of City Attorney that he was first nominated for Governor, in 1900, on the Democratic ticket. He was again nominated for the same office in 1904. As has already been said, Mr. Kern was unsuccessful in both these campaigns, but his personal vote ran ahead of his ticket. In 1905 he received the complimentary vote of the Democratic Party for United States Senator, but the Legislature being Republican he was, of course, defeated.

From his youth John W. Kern has fought his way up, and to know him has always been to trust him. The story of his life is not a romance unless the story of the lives of thousands of poor commonplace boys who, by dint of hard work and persistent honest effort, have risen to prominence can be termed romantic. All his contests and competitions for advancement and honor have been characterized by the fact that he has been eminently fair to his competitors, and in rising himself he has always been overcareful not to pull another down. There have been times in his career when he has lost opportunities for personal advancement by scrupulous consideration of fairness to his opponent. But such characteristics have made such competitors his lasting personal friends. This characteristic of fairness without compromise of principle has made Mr. Kern many warm friends among Republicans, as was instanced by his presiding at the reception given the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, Fairbanks, in 1904, and the return of the courtesy by Mr. Fairbanks, who presided at the reception given Mr. Kern in 1908 at Indianapolis.

Mr. Kern comes of the best Indiana stock. His family are plain, unassuming people. As he is not rich, he lives modestly in one of the best neighborhoods in the city of Indianapolis, surrounded by friends, who come to love him and his family for their real worth. His wife and four children are his constant companions in leisure hours. He cares little for clubs. The home, with its friends and entertainments, he declares to be a man's best diversion. The Kerns and the Bryans are the warmest personal friends, and whenever either man has visited the town of the other during the past ten years, Mr. Bryan has been Mr. Kern's guest or Mr. Kern has been Mr. Bryan's guest at the family home. This close personal friendship led to the joke in which Mr. Bryan offered Mr. Kern a part of the White House as a residence, in case of their election.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### WHY THE DEMOCRATS SHOULD WIN IN 1908.

BY WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN AND HENRY WATTERSON.

After the adoption of the Republican platform at Chicago, Mr. Bryan declared that the Republican party had shown the "white feather by retreating from the advanced position taken by the Administration in its reform movements, and that thus it had again placed itself on record as favoring the monopolists against the masses, in the enunciation of the principles which the people would condemn at the polls in November, 1908. In discussing the Republican platform Mr. Bryan says:

"The Republicans who attended the national convention as spectators and joined in the demonstration in favor of President Roosevelt and Senator La Follette must have felt indignant as they watched the panicstricken delegates running over each other in their effort to get away from the La Follette reforms, some of which have been indorsed by the President himself.

"Congressman Cooper, of Wisconsin, representing the La Follette men, brought in a minority report signed by himself alone. Fifty-two members of the committee signed the majority report and one signed the minority report. The Republican party will find the ratio of fifty-two to one a very embarrassing one to deal with in the coming campaign.

"Mr. Cooper's report contained a declaration in favor of publicity as to campaign funds. It was lost by a vote of 880 to 94, more than nine to one, and yet the President has been advocating legislation in favor of publicity as to campaign contributions and Secretary Taft wrote a letter to Mr. Burrows advocating the passage of a publicity bill.

"How fortunate it was that Secretary Taft's letter was finally

discovered and published! Senator Burrows, the man to whom the Taft letter was addressed, was the temporary chairman of the convention, and the convention over which he presided turned down the publicity plank by a vote of 9 to 1! Who will deny that, on this subject, the Republican party is retreating?

"Another plank of the La Follette platform authorized the ascertaining of the value of the railroads. This plank was lost by a vote of 917 to 66, nearly 15 to 1, and yet President Roosevelt has advocated this very proposition. Here is a retreat on the railroad question.

#### "RETREAT ON INJUNCTION."

"In another column reference is made to the injunction plank. The injunction plank adopted by the Republican convention is a retreat from the position taken by the President and from the position taken by Secretary Taft in his speeches, although neither of them went as far as they ought to have gone in their effort to prevent what is known as 'government by injunction.' Here is the third retreat.

"The President has advocated the income tax as a means of preventing swollen fortunes and of equalizing the burdens of government. The Republican platform is silent on the subject. Was the President right in the position he took? If so, then the convention was wrong in not indorsing him. Will the Republican voters follow the President in this just demand, or will they follow the Republican organization in retreating from it?

"The President advocated an inheritance tax, but the Republican convention is silent on that subject. Was the President ahead of the Republican party in advocating this reform, or has the Republican party receded from the President's position? Did the President give false alarm on this question, or has the party sounded a retreat?

"In the President's message to Congress last spring he presented an indictment against the conspiracy formed among the great law-breakers to prevent the enforcement of the law and to evade the punishments provided by law. The platform adopted by the Republican convention contains no intimation of danger.

"If there are any conspiracies, the convention did not see them; if there are any combinations, it had not heard of them; if there are any dangers, they are unconscious of them.

"Was the President mistaken when he issued his defiance, or are

the Republican managers deceived when they think that an aroused public will calmly contemplate the encroachments of predatory wealth? This is retreat No. 6.

"The convention by vote of 866 to 114—more than seven to one—voted down the plank in favor of the popular election of United States Senators. It is true that the President and Secretary Taft have never advocated the popular election of Senators. They seem to take the Hamiltonian rather than the Jeffersonian view, but the most popular reform in the United States to-day is the reform that has for its object the election of United States Senators by direct vote.

"It has been indorsed five times by the National House of Representatives—three times when the House of Representatives was Republican. It has been indorsed by nearly two-thirds of the States of the Union, and there is probably not a State in the Union in which it would not be indorsed at a popular election, and yet, in spite of the record made in the houses, and by the various States, this reform is rejected by a seven to one vote in a Republican national convention.

#### ROOSEVELT'S REFORMS.

"Here are seven propositions upon which the Republican party in national convention assembled, has retreated from the position taken by that party in Congress or from the position taken by the President. What have Roosevelt Republicans to say?

The President has awakened a spirit of reform within his party, he has at last revealed to the world that there are reformers in the Republican party. Can that spirit now be quelled by a stand-pat convention? Millions of Republicans have enlisted at the President's call to arms, and are ready to march forward; will they furl their banners and turn back merely because the President acquiesces in the sounding of a retreat?"

To sum up, Mr. Bryan argues that, since the Republican Party by its platform has refused to endorse the reforms begun and recommended by President Roosevelt but on the contrary has actually declared against some of them, and since the Democratic Party in its platform now and through its leaders for years has declared for them and promised them, therefore the logical course for reform Republicans is to vote the Democratic ticket.



## BRYAN DISCUSSES THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY PLATFORM.

"It contains a number of planks which are identical with or substantially similar to the planks of the Democratic platform. For instance, it demands the election of Senators by direct vote of the people, as the Democratic platform does; its tariff plank is quite like our tariff plank; its plank on the trusts, while opposing private monopoly, is not as specific as ours; its railroad plank does not differ much from ours; its plank on Asiatic immigration is quite similar, and its labor plank, like ours, contains a declaration in favor of trial by jury and in regard to the exemption of labor organizations from the operation of anti-trust laws. Like our platform it condemns the extravagance of the Republican Party and demands greater economy. It does not advocate, however, establishment of a Department of Labor, with a Secretary in the Cabinet; it does not oppose imperialism, which has been used to justify the increase in our standing army, and its plank as to publicity of campaign contributions is not nearly so strong as ours.

## WHY INDEPENDENTS SHOULD VOTE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

"The question that must confront each member of the Independence Party is this: Will he assist in the defeat of the Democratic Party, which stands for so much that he favors, merely because he cannot get all that he would like? Either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party will win, and the voter who, preferring the Democratic platform to the Republican platform, joins with the Independence Party merely assists the Republican Party, and thus defeats several of the reforms in which he is interested. Take, for instance, the plank in favor of the election of Senators by the people. The Democratic Party has indorsed that reform in three campaigns. The Republican convention defeated the proposition by an overwhelming vote. If the Democratic Party succeeds, its members are pledged to this reform. The Republican Party is not pledged to it, and the Republican candidate has gone no further than to say that he is personally inclined toward it. This reform is necessary before any other reform can be secured. Is not the Independence voter justified in helping the Democratic Party to secure this reform?

"So in regard to the labor questions. The Democratic Party is

in favor of remedies demanded by wage-earners, and a wage-earner who votes with the Independence Party simply defeats the reforms in which he is interested. And the same argument might be made in regard to those who favor tariff reform, the extermination of the principle of private monopoly and the remedy of other evils which have grown up under Republican administrations. The question is not whether one can get all the reforms that he wants, but how he can get the most reform. The Democratic Party offers him the best opportunity to secure that which is obtainable at this time."

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"A UNITED DEMOCRACY TO THE RESCUE OF THE REPUBLIC."

BY HENRY WATTERSON.

"Hurrah for Bryan and Kern! It is a strong ticket. It is an honest, sound and Democratic declaration of principles. The party will accept both the ticket and the platform with enthusiasm, and the voters will ratify them at the polls in November. Henceforward the word shall be 'Faction to the rear—united we stand.'

"Upon the eve of this great movement for popular emancipation from organized and lawless wealth, for the recovery of the Constitution from the hands of its mutilators, and the restoration of the Government to the people, we desire, with the completed work at Denver before us, to speak with earnest but becoming candor, addressing ourselves to those who have no other master or interest to serve than that of their country, their whole country and nothing but their country.

"We shall begin at the beginning of the Democratic battle for the rescue of the masses from the classes, which, during and after the sectional war, had, in the person and through the ministrations of the Republican Party, taken possession of the whole fabric of society and law.

"This carries us back to the national platform and campaign of 1876 under the inspiration and leadership of the immortal Tilden. The keynote of that life-giving struggle was reform, the reform of the whole federal system. Reform not written in glittering generalities but specific and specified; the reform of the public service, dragged through the mire of official delinquency.

"On that platform of reform principles set forth by the Democratic Party in 1876 Mr. Tilden carried the country by a popular majority of nearly three hundred thousand. He, the Democratic Party and the people, were counted out of the fruits of their victory by a process of fraud as palpable as it was extraordinary; but, from 1876 to 1896, the issue uppermost in the minds of thinking Democrats was that created by the legalized enrichment of the few at the cost of the many; the encroachments of lawless wealth and arbitrary power; the progress of the plutocracy; the impositions, impostures and antics of the money devil.

"It was in this latter year that Mr. Bryan arrived upon the scene. His coming made an epoch. By some hokus-pokus, evolved from his inner consciousness, this comparatively obscure young man contrived to lift himself into leadership, and has kept himself there, to the end that, for a third time, he is made the Democratic nominee for President. Were it not the part of wisdom and justice—and is it not time—that those of us who have consistently opposed him should look into the whys and wherefores, should take stock of our antecedents and the party's assets—that is, in case we be Democrats and not Republicans, or nondescripts—with the purpose of reviewing the past, of revising the present, and of casting some kind of balance sheet upon the ledger of our individual conduct, our actual opinions, and our reasonable aims?

"Whatever free silver was, or was not, as an economic issue, it is no longer here to divide us. Those who contended for it, led by Mr. Bryan—right or wrong as to the fiscal proposition—thought they were fighting for the masses against the classes, for the people against prerogative, and against the same old money devil we had all fought under the leadership of Mr. Tilden. That question out of the way, what is there now to divide us? Is it Mr. Bryan? 'Having been twice beaten he can never be elected,' says Sir Oracle. 'Having been twice beaten he can never be elected,' echoes the unthinking Democrat. Yet it is this twice-beaten candidate whom the rank and file of Democracy cling to and the Republican leaders and newspapers most savagely abuse. Why? In our opinion it is because there is in the people a discerning instinct and in Mr. Bryan a reflecting spirit which make for mutual truthfulness, each turning to the other, as both turn to God, with child-like confidence. The Republican leaders



and newspapers know this and they dread it. They are superbly equipped. They are supremely confident. Yet they largely rely upon the bluff they are playing upon our supposed credulity and cowardice.

"We entreat every thinking and loyal Democrat in the land to study the situation. Mr. Bryan is merely an instrument under heaven, indicating the popular volition.

"There is but one real underlying and paramount question in this campaign, and that is, Can the people by their own unaided strength change their government against the marching army of federal office holders supported by unlimited supplies, either wrung from or contributed by the corporations? Is the money devil an overmatch for the American voter? That is all there is to it, fellow-Democrats and fellow-countrymen; no more and no less.

"Flying the flag of Roosevelt the Republican leaders have already made their peace with the system, that is with perdition, Pittsburg and Wall Street. From Rockefeller to Carnegie, from Harriman to Morgan, every chieftain of lawless riches is well content with Taft and Sherman. They foretoken and imply the old order of special privilege to the few, impositions of every sort to the many; high finance rampant; high tariff, 'revised by its friends,' rampant; the end of Rooseveltism and agitation 'for the good of business'—business only organizes capital and licensed monopoly; the same old story, the same old song, the same old gang, slicked over with goose-grease from the Roosevelt larder, but meaning four years more of the rascaldom which Roosevelt has unmasked but now downed; which Roosevelt has exposed, but left intact; which, in spite of Roosevelt and all his works, stands to-day as impudent and defiant as ever it stood. Can any thoughtful Democrat, can any patriotic American, balk of his duty before a lay-out so menacing and obvious?

#### THE PEOPLE DEMAND THE ELECTION OF BRYAN.

"The Anti-Bryan habit is self-deceptive and a pure delusion, where it is not a form, often an unconscious form, of treasonable infidelity. There is no reason for its existence in the mind of any true Democrat. The old-line Whigs, to whom Mr. Clay stood where Mr. Bryan now stands to the modern Democrats, the old-line Whigs who preferred Mr. Clay in 1840 and in 1848, sacrificed their favorite to the superstition that having been twice beaten he could

never be elected. Yet they could and would have elected him had they nominated him in either of those years. The intuitions of the people, let us repeat, are more trustworthy than the best-laid plans of the politicians. Perhaps in our day the people are better educated than they were sixty years ago. Whatever it be, they, and not the politicians, have prevailed at Denver. They have prevailed against a great deal of manœuvering, and not a little money; they have prevailed over the doubts and fears of many, the prejudices of others; but prevailed they have distinctly and absolutely. In standing to Mr. Bryan, as the Whigs should have stood to Mr. Clay, they take the responsibilities into their own hand, choosing their ticket as wise women choose their husbands, to suit themselves, saying to one another now, and ready to say to the world and to the bitter end, if that be the will of the Lord—as please God it shall not be—

“ ‘Tis better to have loved and lost,  
Than never to have loved at all.’

—better, yea, a thousand times better, the old faith and the old flag, so that if we must go down, we shall go down shouting!

“That is the soul of Democracy, unterrified and undefiled. That is the spirit which snatches brands from the askes and sets them blazing upon the altars of truth. That is the fellowship that binds men and wins battles even with pebbles against mail-clad giants, though hell should belch forth millionaires and Satan bar the way!”

## CHAPTER XV.

### CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, 1908.

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The second National Convention of the Socialist Party of America met at Brand's Hall, Clarke and Erie Streets, Chicago, May 10, 1908, at 12.30 o'clock and continued for eight days, ending on the Sunday following. Morris Hillquit, of New York, was elected temporary chairman, and Frederick Heath, of Wisconsin, temporary secretary. The Committee on Rules, which had previously been appointed by the National Committee, recommended the creation of the following committees for the convention, which recommendations were adopted: Committee on Platform, Committee on Resolutions, Committee on Constitution, Committee on Women and Their Relation to the Socialist Party, Auditing Committee, Ways and Means Committee, Farmers' Programme Committee, Committee on Relation of Foreign-Speaking Organizations, Committee on Labor Organizations, Committee by Government Commissions. There was considerable wrangling over the report of the Committee on Credentials, which was finally settled in a harmonious and generally satisfactory manner and the delegates were seated.

On Monday James F. Carey, of Massachusetts, was elected chairman. The day session was opened by discussing a proposed telegram to the Western Federation of Miners, which was finally referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The remainder of the day was taken up by discussion of the report of the Committee on Rules, the election of the Platform Committee and the nomination of the delegates to serve on the remaining committees. The tickets for the election of these committees were ordered printed and to be placed in the hands of the delegates on the following day.

At Tuesday's session, J. W. Slayton was elected chairman. The members of all the standing committees were next elected, with the exception of the Platform Committee, which was fixed on Monday.



A notable fact in this connection is that the entire Committee on Women and Their Relationship to the Socialist Party was composed of women delegates to the convention. Women also figured on the other committees, but this particular committee had no male members on it.

At the Wednesday session, Seymour Steadman, of Illinois, was elected chairman. It was devoted mainly to the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The convention decided to send a telegram, proposed at Monday's session, to the Western Federation of Miners. The text of the message is as follows:

"Ernest Mills, Secretary, Western Federation of Miners,  
"605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.:

"The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, sends greetings to the Western Federation of Miners. We congratulate you upon the splendid battle and final vindication of your organization. We condemn with you the use of Federal troops to destroy a labor organization as in Alaska. We are with you until Adams and the last of the victims of the Pinkertons are out from the prison pens of poverty into the sunlight of economic freedom."

The convention also expressed itself on the temperance question by adopting the following resolution unanimously:

#### THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

"We recognize the evils that arise from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic and adulterated liquors and we declare that any excessive use of such liquors by the working class postpones the day of the final triumph of our cause. But we hold that these evils cannot be cured by an extension of the police power of the capitalist state. Alcoholism is a disease and can best be remedied by doing away with the underfeeding, overwork and overworry which result from the capitalist system."

At Thursday's session Stanley J. Clark, of Texas, was elected chairman. The Committee on Organized Labor presented the following address, which succinctly sets forth the relations of socialism to organized labor and presents the party's claim for the labor vote:

## SOCIALISM AND ORGANIZED LABOR.

"The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage-earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

"The Socialist Party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist Party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist Party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

"The Socialist Party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage-worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

"Organized labor is to-day confronted as a class by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have undertaken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations. In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska, and elsewhere, law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.

"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workingmen; it is backed

by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the laws to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workingmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under the pretense of their being labor trusts.

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workingmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workingmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workingmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

"In the Danbury hatters' case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous 'Dred Scott decision' of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the Anti-Trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasuries, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

"By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

"At this critical moment the Socialist Party calls upon all organ-



ized workingmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workingmen on election day."

The question of unity with the Socialist Labor Party was discussed and encouraged, but the convention decided not to attempt to take any steps toward organic unity at this time, but invited members of the other socialist organizations to join the Socialist Party as individuals. At the evening session of this day the national platform was presented and discussed by the convention, and generally approved, but before becoming positively the platform of the party it was necessary, under the rules of the Socialists, to submit it to the different local organizations throughout the country and have it adopted by a referendum vote. The convention next voted to proceed with the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President. P. H. Callery, of Missouri, in a stirring speech, placed Eugene V. Debs in nomination for President. Several others were nominated, and the vote, which was taken immediately, resulted as follows:

Debs .....	152
James F. Carey, of Massachusetts .....	17
Carl D. Thompson, of Wisconsin .....	16
A. Simons, of Illinois .....	9

On motion the nomination was made unanimous, which action was followed by great applause. Several nominations for Vice-President were made. Benjamin Hanford, of New York, received 106 votes, which gave him the majority, and on motion his nomination was made unanimous. The convention adjourned at 2 A. M., weary, but enthusiastic.

Thursday's session was devoted largely to the discussion of the immigration question. The recommendations of the Committee on Resolutions is too long to insert here, but the declaration was against the introduction of foreign labor, and it was recommended that a special committee of five members be elected to carefully study and investigate the whole subject of immigration in all its aspects, and to publish, from time to time, such data as they may gather and make a

report of the same at the next convention of the party. The Committee on Farmers' Program recommended that the farmers study the economics of the co-operative social system, and that efforts be made to convince the farmer that his interests are bound up with the interests of the whole working class. There were warm debates on many planks of the platform proposed, and many earnest and eloquent addresses were made. The most exciting time of the convention occurred on Friday afternoon in discussing the question of socialism and religion. This debate extended into the evening, and the day was closed by the discussion of the plank providing for the relief of the unemployed.

At Saturday's session Frank I. Wheat, of California, was elected chairman, and the report of the Committee on Platform was again taken up and the platform was formally approved by the convention as a whole. A committee of three was elected to revise its literary style before publication. The report of the Committee on the Constitution was then taken up and acted on section by section. The constitution adopted was substantially the same as the present constitution of the party, the only important changes being that a clause was added providing that every applicant for membership in the Socialist Party shall sign a pledge recognizing the class struggle and endorsing the platform and constitution of the party. An amendment was also adopted by the convention to read as follows:

"Any person who opposes political action as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from the party."

Carl D. Thompson, of Wisconsin, was chairman of the Sunday session. On this day the convention expressed itself as follows on the woman suffrage question. The Committee on the Relation of Women to the Socialist Movement then presented its report by Mila Tupper Maynard, the chairman. She explained that the plank on woman suffrage in the platform already adopted had been drafted by the Women's Committee and that this was the only official declaration thought desirable. She then read the text of the report as follows:

"The National Committee of the Socialist Party has already provided for a special organizer and lecturer to work for equal civil and political rights in connection with the socialist propaganda among women, and their organization in the Socialist Party.

"This direct effort to secure the suffrage to women increases the party membership and opens up a field of work entirely new in the American Socialist Party. That it has with it great possibilities and value for the party, our comrades in Germany, Finland and other countries have abundantly demonstrated.

"The work of organization among women is much broader and more far-reaching than the mere arrangement of tour for speakers. It should consist of investigation and education among women and children, particularly those in the ranks of labor, in or out of labor unions, and to the publication of books, pamphlets and leaflets, especially adapted to this field of activity.

"To plan such activity requires experience that comes from direct contact with an absorbing interest in the distinct feature of woman's economic and social conditions, and the problem arising therefrom.

"For this reason the committee hereby requests this convention to take definite action on this hitherto neglected question. We ask that it make provision to assist the socialist women of the party in explaining and stimulating the growing interest in socialism among women and to aid the women comrades in their efforts to bring the message of socialism to the children of the proletariat, we recommend the following:

"First. That a special committee of five be elected to care for and manage the work of organization among women.

"Second. That sufficient funds be supplied by the party to that committee to maintain a woman organizer constantly in the field as already voted.

"Third. That this committee co-operate directly with the national headquarters and be under the supervision of the national party.

"Fourth. That this committee be elected by this national convention, its members to consist not necessarily of delegates to this convention.

"Fifth. That all other moneys needed to carry on the work of the woman's committee outside of the maintenance of the special organizers, be raised by the committee.

"Sixth. That during the campaign of 1908 the women appointed as organizers be employed in States now possessing the franchise."

It was decided to continue the present arrangement of paying the traveling expenses of delegates to all national conventions from



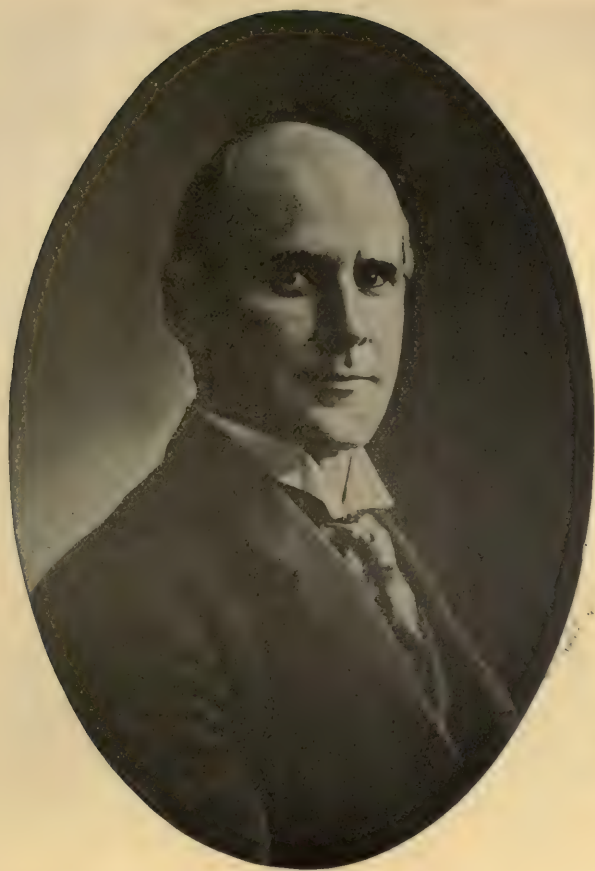
the national treasury and to raise this money by a special assessment levied equally on all members. It was furthermore provided that no delegate hereafter shall be allowed voice or vote in the convention until the assessments from his State shall have been paid in full.

The entire constitution as adopted by the convention is to be submitted section by section to a referendum by the membership of the party and if adopted the new constitution is to go into effect the first of January, 1909.

Before the motion to adjourn *sine die* was made, Spargo, of New York, said: "I suppose we are all agreed that we want to go home. It is well that, having worked hard for eight days, we should end our convention in as good spirits as that with which we began. I am satisfied that when we get back home and have time to forget our tired nerves and have had time to think more calmly of our personal differences here, that each of us will look back to this convention as one of the greatest privileges in each of our lives.

"I believe sincerely, and I am not making the conventional statement usual to such occasions, that we shall admit ten years from now that the convention of 1908 practically marked the birth of the socialist movement as a political party of the working class in this country. I am not going to ask you to listen to any sort of an address now, but I ask you, comrades, to rise and join in three cheers for socialism and the Socialist Party."

The convention then adjourned *sine die*, after three rousing cheers for socialism.



EUGENE VICTOR DEBS

Socialist Party Candidate for President of the United States.



**THOMAS E. WATSON**

**Leader of the People's Party as Candidate for President.**



## CHAPTER XVI.

### PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY FOR 1908.

### ALSO PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP.

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#### PRINCIPLES.

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

To-day the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage-working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

The wage-workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation, is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climaxes of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow-men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislature and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor

the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage-workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: the small farmer, who is to-day exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and the means of production used for exploitation is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and the means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national, but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist



Party. In this battle for freedom, the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

#### PLATFORM FOR 1908.

The Socialist Party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of Labor.

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life, are forced into idleness and starvation.

Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized labor and the socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organizations of labor.

In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated State laws and the Federal Constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.

The Congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations

have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellow-men, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.

Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic, and the so-called Independence parties and all parties other than the Socialist Party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave-owning aristocracy of the South, which was the backbone of the Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child-slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the Republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interest of the possessing class.

The various "reform" movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread

popular discontent. They are not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

#### PROGRAM.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

#### GENERAL DEMANDS.

1—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cutover and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work-day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to States and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

3—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

5—That occupancy and use of land be the sole title to possession. The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.



## INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS.

7—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(a) By shortening the work-day in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

## POLITICAL DEMANDS.

8—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to nearness of kind.

9—A graduated income tax.

10—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

12—Abolition of the Senate.

13—The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

14—That the Constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

15—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The Bureau of Education to be made a department. The creation of a Department of Public Health.

16—The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor, and the establishment of a Department of Labor.

17—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

18—The free administration of justice.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

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### THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

This older branch of the Socialist movement holds certain distinctive views advocating the general federation of labor all over the world, without discrimination against foreign labor, and making it practically impossible for one branch of labor to "scab" on another branch. It is the attitude of the Socialist Labor Party toward the trade unions that has prevented its uniting with the Socialist Party, of which Eugene V. Debs is the candidate.

The Socialist Labor Party met in its fifth national Presidential convention in New York on the morning of July 2d at half-past ten o'clock. The first meeting of the organization in convention was in 1892 in New York. They went through the usual formalities of conventions, in appointing committees and conducting their affairs. They remained in session until July 5th and adjourned after nominating for President Martin R. Preston, of Nevada, by trade a miner, who is debarred from becoming President of the United States by the double disqualification of being a foreigner by birth and because he would be under thirty-five years of age at the date of the next inauguration, March 4, 1909. This age limit would prevent anyone from being inaugurated as President, as would also the fact of foreign birth. Another singular fact in connection with the nomination of Martin R. Preston is that at the time of his nomination he was in prison in Nevada under an indictment for manslaughter. He killed a restaurant keeper, as he and his party claim, in self-defence, while defending a waitress against the insults of the man he slew. The nominee for Vice-President is Donald L. Munro, a machinist, of Portsmouth, Va. No biographical sketches of these candidates could

be obtained. The party's platform in 1904 was readopted without change for 1908.

The regular Socialist Party through their "Unity League" made overtures to the Socialist Labor Party Convention to endorse their candidates, and, laying aside the technical differences which separated them, join in a united effort for the advancement of the common cause of socialism. The Socialist Labor Party replied in part as follows:

"Comrades:—We find the working class in such a state of poverty, besides confusion, that the Socialist Labor Party, in convention assembled, would gladly shut its eyes and ears to the technical objections that there are in your request to endorse Mr. Debs, the Presidential nominee of your party. But there are serious objections to such action. The national convention of the Socialist Party has violated the principles of the International Socialist Movement. To the slogan of 'the hordes of Europe,' used without protest from the convention by Guy Miller, a prominent national organizer and member of your national committee, the Socialist Party national convention took a 'backward races' position on the immigration question, thereby setting workingmen of one race against those of another. Such a position is not only contrary to the declaration of the Stuttgart Congress, but a slap in the face of the foreign speaking element in America.

"The Socialist Labor Party tendered an offer of unity to the Socialist Party, in compliance with the resolution of the International Socialist Congress. This offer was rejected.

"The Socialist Party national convention rejected a recommendation in favor of revolutionary unionism. It thereby shielded the craft union principle which keeps the working class divided, and compels, as a principle of unionism, the scabbing of one craft upon another, and even compels locals of the same craft to act as strike breakers against each other. In an article on this subject, which appeared in *The Miners' Magazine*, Mr. Debs stated that 'association with the American Federation of Labor is contamination.'

"The Socialist Party convention, not satisfied with committing these acts, emphasized its iniquitous position by nominating as its Vice-Presidential candidate Ben Hanford, the incarnation of these iniquities. Hanford is a member of Big Six, the typographical union,



which is itself the incarnation of the theory of craft unionism, which under the pretext of 'keeping its contracts' has often scabbed on its allied trades, from the little newsboys up.

"The nomination under such circumstances of Eugene V. Debs for President by your convention is not a denial of the Hanford craft union principle. The nomination under such circumstances of Debs is an attempt to sugar-coat the Hanford scabbery.

"To endorse Debs would, therefore, be to endorse Hanford's scabbery; it would be, not a step that would promote the unification of the workers, it would be a step that would promote their further disruption; it would be a blow to the revolutionary element that is taking shape in your own party, and that justly looks upon the Socialist Labor Party for guidance.

"For these reasons, while appreciating your motives, the convention of the Socialist Labor Party must decline to accept your invitation.

"The Socialist Labor Party having nominated for President Martin B. Preston, the wrongfully imprisoned and persecuted Nevada miner workingman, we suggest to you that your organization cause Mr. Debs to realize the propriety of declining in favor of Preston for the best interests of the working class and of all around unity.

"PATRICK E. DE LEE,

"HENRY O'NEIL,

"H. J. SCHADE."

The real difference can be seen by consulting the principles enunciated in their respective platforms. The platform of the Socialist Labor Party follows:

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, ADOPTED AT NEW YORK  
JULY, 1904, AND AGAIN JULY, 1908.

The Socialist Labor Party, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but, taught by experience, we hold furthermore that such right is illusory in the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic

inequality that is essentially destructive of their life, their liberty, and their happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again, taught by experience, we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty, and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes—the capitalist class and the working class; throws society into the convulsions of the class struggle, and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the capitalist class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage-earners of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscience body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working-class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the co-operative commonwealth for the present state of plan-

less production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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#### THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP (OR PARTY).

The Christian Socialists endorse the candidates of the Socialist Party—Debs for President and Hanford for Vice-President. They are really a branch of the Socialist Party, organized for the purpose of propagating socialism among all Christian church organizations, emphasizing the teachings of Christ as the keynote of socialism, and for that reason to urge Christians of all creeds to espouse the cause of socialism. The following is their declaration of principles and policy, adopted at New York, May 30, 1908:

The Christian Socialist Fellowship is instituted and maintained for the sole purpose of spreading knowledge of the principles of socialism, especially among persons of religious belief and affiliation.

In view of the traditional and political significance of the term “Christian Socialism” in European countries, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the Fellowship differs wholly in its spirit and purpose from the so-called Christian socialist parties in Germany and elsewhere. It must be distinguished from the semi-philanthropic and social reform movements which are sometimes designated as “Christian Socialism.” It has no connection with, but on the contrary condemns, the so-called Christian socialist movement of Germany, Austria and other continental countries, which carries on a violent anti-social and un-Christian propaganda of anti-Semitism, and antagonizes the Social Democracy, the political movement of the working class.

The Fellowship believes in and advocates socialism without any qualifying adjectives whatever. It does not offer any special form of socialism, distinctly Christian. The socialism it preaches differs in no way from that of the international socialist movement.

The Fellowship does not aim to create a new political party, but endorses and supports the platform and principles of the Socialist Party. Most of the members of the Fellowship are members also of the party, and the influence of the Fellowship is unreservedly given to the party.



No religious or creed test is imposed as a condition of membership in the Fellowship. The reason for its existence as a special organization is the need for carrying on socialist propaganda among the members of churches and other religious institutions. The Fellowship welcomes to membership adherents of every faith without discrimination, urging them to propagate socialism in their congregations through the Fellowship.

The Fellowship will confine its efforts to the special work above described. It will not seek to influence the policy of the Socialist Party, but will maintain an attitude of strict neutrality upon all questions of party organization and policy.

The above resolution was adopted unanimously except the part "welcoming adherents of every faith." Strobell, Vail, Bliss, Weeks and Carr voted against that part.

As a mere resolution the matter does not go to referendum; and, moreover, no resolution can nullify the constitution, which provides that the members of the Christian Socialist Fellowship shall consist of those who agree to "the racial message of Jesus" and recognize that "Socialism is the necessary economic expression of the Christian life," etc. In other words, while the fellowship has no theological test, not asking a prospective member whether he believes in one God, three Gods in one, or no God, he is required to commit himself to Christianity so far as the statement of object goes. The Fellowship is distinctly Christian in ethics and sociology, and will probably become more so.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### EUGENE VICTOR DEBS, SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1908.

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In the estimation of the average Democrat and Republican Eugene V. Debs stands next to the anarchist. As a matter of fact, the socialists claim that there is no political creed formulated which is farther from anarchy than their own; no man farther from it than their champion. The candidate for President on the Socialist ticket is a man of most charming and pleasing personality, as well as one of the most pleasing, convincing and powerful orators of our country. It is the heart of the man that makes him a Socialist. Great as is his mind, it follows the prompting of a love for his fellow-man; and, if he fights at all he fights for his brothers and sisters in human flesh, whom he believes should be alike free and equal in all opportunities to make the most of themselves and their children.

#### THE POETS LOVE HIM.

It is said that the poets love Eugene V. Debs, because in him they detected the true spirit of the brotherhood of man with equal rights to all, about which the greatest poets from Whittier to Edwin Markham love to sing. James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field were his personal friends. Perhaps Mr. Debs has no more enthusiastic admirer than the famous "Hoosier poet." In his characteristic way Mr. Riley declares: "God was feeling mighty good when he created 'Gene Debs.'" Eugene Field, the famous child poet—said to be extremely discriminating in his friendship and very sparing of compliments—thus wrote: "'Gene Debs is the most lovable man I ever knew. Debs is sincere. His heart is as gentle as a woman's and as fresh as a mountain brook. If Debs were a priest, the world would listen to his eloquence, and that gentle, musical voice and sad, sweet smile of his would soften the hardest heart."

Probably enough tender tributes in verse have been paid to Debs by the poets to fill a volume. One of them declared, "The mind of 'Gene Debs is a garden in bloom and his soul is filled with fragrance." At one time when Riley was confined to his room by illness, Debs sent him a bouquet of the poet's favorite flowers, which called forth the following appreciation:

THEM FLOWERS.

(To My Good Friend, Eugene V. Debs.)

Take a feller 'ats sick, and laid up on the shelf,  
 All shaky, and ga'nted and pore,  
 And all so knocked out he can't handle hisself  
 With a stiff upper-lip any more;  
 Shet him up all alone in the gloom of a room,  
 As dark as the tomb, and as grim,  
 And then take and send him some roses in bloom,  
 And you kin have fun out o' him!

You've seed him, 'fore now, when his liver was sound,  
 And his appetite notched like a saw.  
 A chaffin' you, mebbby, for romancin' round  
 With a big posey bunch in yer paw.  
 But you ketch him, say, when his health is away,  
 And he's flat on his back in distress,  
 And then you can trot out your little bokay  
 And not be insulted, I guess!

You see, it's like this, what his weaknesses is,  
 Them flowers makes him think of the days  
 Of his innocent youth, and that mother o' his,  
 And the roses she used to raise;  
 So here all alone with the roses you send,  
 Bein' sick and all trimbly and faint;  
 My eyes is—my eyes is—my eyes is—old friend,  
 Is a-leakin'—I'm blamed ef they ain't!

And in the "Hoosier Bard's" poem "Regardin' Terry Hut," appear these lines:



And there's 'Gene Debs—a man 'at stands  
And jest holds out in his two hands  
As warm a heart as ever beat  
Betwixt here and the Judgement Seat!

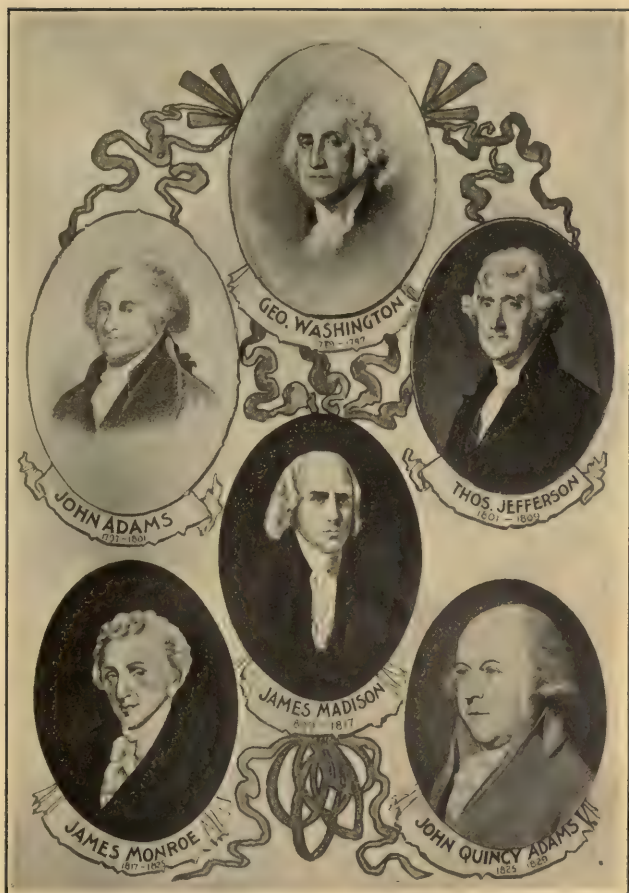
At a reception given to Debs by the Denver Press Club, Walter Juan Davis recited these lines, written for the occasion:

DEBS.

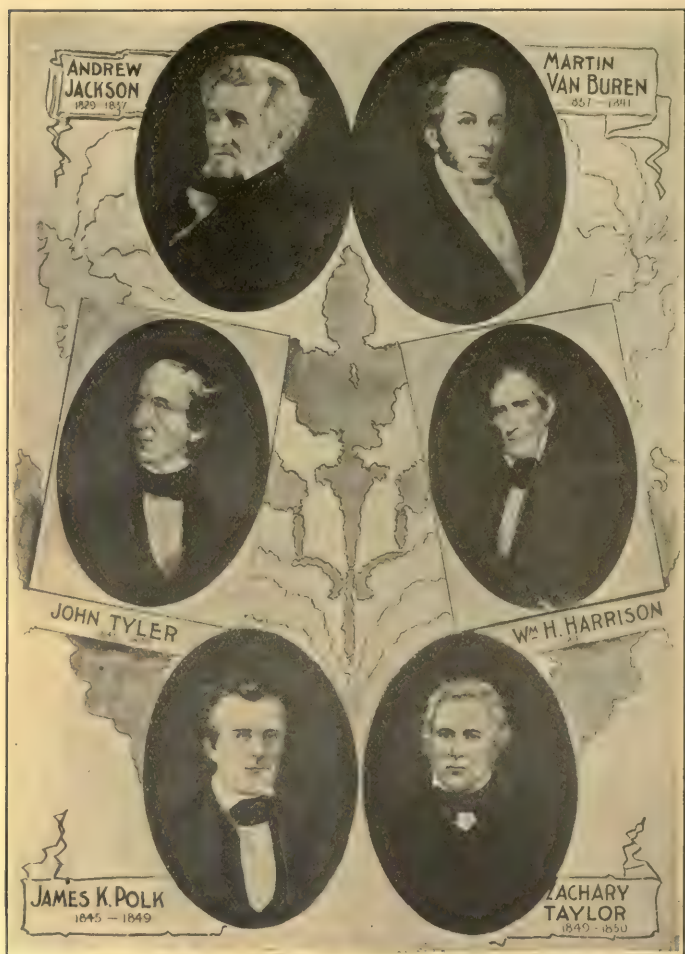
It is not his craft or creed,  
It is not the winged word  
That springs from his soul to his lips, at need,  
And, flying, is felt and heard;  
But something down in us all  
That makes us respect the man  
Who says unto great and small:  
"You've a right to do what you can;  
You've a right to preserve and keep  
Such things as the gods gave you;  
You've a right to your hours of sleep,  
And the worth of the things you do;  
You've a right to the million or dime  
That your brain or your brawn has won;  
But not in the length of time,  
In the light of the moon or sun,  
Have you a right to a thing  
That you steal or wring  
From me, or from any one."

That picturesque genius, Captain Jack Crawford, renowned as "The Poet-Scout," wrote of Debs:

The same old pard of long ago,  
The whole-souled 'Gene that I used to know;  
With the love of Truth writ on Justice's scroll,  
With a woman's heart and a warrior's soul.



PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1789 TO 1829.



PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1829 TO 1850.



## DEBS THE WARRIOR.

As the last quotation above suggests, while Debs has a heart as tender as a woman's for those in distress, he has the courage of a lion and the spirit of a warrior to punish those who would oppress their fellows. With all of his tenderness, he is in every sense a man's man. He is a writer, a lecturer and an organizer. Born in Terre Haute, Indiana, November 5, 1855, he is now in the prime of his manhood at fifty-two years of age. His parents were Daniel and Marguerite Debs. He had a common school education and early in life entered the ranks of the toilers. From 1871 to 1874 he was a locomotive fireman on the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad. From this position he went for the next four years to work in a wholesale grocery house and later became the city clerk of Terre Haute, Indiana, in which position he served from 1879 to 1883. This was the beginning of his political career. In June of 1885 he was married to Katherine Metzel and the same year was elected to the Indiana Legislature.

It was while he was yet city clerk in Terre Haute that his personal qualities, coupled with his recognized ability and enthusiasm in the labor movement, won him the position of secretary and treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, which position he held until 1893, when he became president of the American Railway Union. In this capacity he acted for four years and gave it up to become chairman of the Council of the Social Democracy in 1897. In 1900 he was made the Socialist Party candidate for President. For this office he was again nominated by his party in 1904 and 1908.

Perhaps no partisans know the history of their candidates better than the socialists know the history of Eugene V. Debs. While president of the American Railway Union he won a victory for labor in the Great Northern Railway strike, and it was while he was managing a still larger strike on Western roads that he was charged with conspiracy. He was acquitted of this charge, but later he was charged with violation of an injunction and sent to jail for six months for contempt of court. It was this imprisonment which gave rise to his opponents contemptuously dubbing him "the jail-bird." This sobriquet has been accepted by the followers of his party as an honor. They claim that he went to jail as Christ went to the cross, in the interest of humanity.

It is hardly to be doubted that the imprisonment of Debs awakened a greater interest in the movement he was leading. Since that time the socialist movement in America has grown with leaps and bounds, as will be shown by the fact that in 1900 the party polled 96,931 votes and four years later more than four times as many, the total being 409,230. Succeeding 1904 numerous socialist papers, both weekly and daily, were started in various parts of the country; and it is confidently predicted by the leaders of the party that the vote in 1908 will double that of 1904. Some of the more optimistic journals of the party claim they will reach at least 1,000,000 votes. Others place the figures in advance of the million mark. Both Debs and Hanford are powerful campaigners. They are profound students and deep thinkers, strong debaters, and as orators compare favorably with either the Democratic or Republican spellbinders.

#### THE STORY OF DEBS'S IMPRISONMENT.

Inasmuch as the Anti-injunction question became so great an issue in the campaign of 1908 it is well to give more in detail the story of Debs's imprisonment under an injunction, especially since that act practically resulted in the introduction of the Socialist Party into American politics.

In May, 1894, the famous Pullman strike occurred. Unable to effect a settlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter in the national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result a boycott was declared against the Pullman cars, to take effect June 26th. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country extending from Chicago West and South to the Gulf and Pacific coast was tied up and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and Grosscup, at Chicago, issued a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. Mr. Debs and associates were arrested for contempt of court, on alleged violation of the injunction. They were tried in September, but Judge Woods did not render a verdict until December, when he condemned Mr. Debs to six months' imprisonment, and his associates to three. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court, and in May, 1895, the imprisonment in Woodstock jail began. The term expired on November 22, 1895, and on the evening of that day the

prisoner was tendered a reception in Chicago, the like of which that city had seldom seen.

Debs and associates were also indicted and placed on trial for conspiracy, and the trial continued until the evidence of the prosecution had all been heard, but suddenly, when the defense began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a temporary adjournment and the trial abruptly terminated in spite of all efforts of the defendants to have it continued. They were anxious to bring the General Managers' Association into court and show who were the real law breakers and destroyers of property. An acquittal by a jury upon substantially the same charge as that upon which they were imprisoned for contempt, the Socialists claim, would have been fatal to Judge Woods. However that may be, it is undoubtedly due to this incident and the agitation which followed in the Socialist Party that the Anti-injunction issue in all the other parties has been made a feature of the platforms in 1908.

#### SOCIALISM VERSUS CAPITALISM PROCLAIMED.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial, and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. Among other things he said: "The issue is Socialism vs. Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change."

When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the National Executive Board. The following year (1898) the Social Democratic Party was started as the result of a split in the Social Democracy. In 1900 Debs was nominated for President as candidate for the Social Democratic Party, which was afterward merged into what is now the Socialist Party, and Debs has been its candidate in each successive election.

During the past seven years Mr. Debs has devoted all his time to lecturing and writing for Socialism, and has also taken part in some notable strikes in the industrial and mining centers of the East and West. He has visited every State during his travels and carried the Socialist message into more places than probably any other man in America.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### BENJAMIN HANFORD,

#### SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

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Like Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Hanford is a self-made man, and, like Lincoln, he claims to owe much of the inspiration that finally shaped his life for whatever good there may be in it to a wise, devoted and helpful stepmother.

Benjamin Hanford was born in Indiana in the year 1858, and grew up in a humble home until he was thirteen years of age, at which date, notwithstanding the strong affection he had for his stepmother, he yielded to a disposition which takes possession of many boys, sometimes in the most refined homes, and "ran away," to try his fortune in the booming city of Chicago just before the great conflagration reduced the business portion of the Western metropolis to ashes. Penniless and friendless, but, even then manifesting that natural resourcefulness that has since stood him well in hand and carried him to fame in his party, he quickly found work as a printer's devil in a small shop. Thus he began a career which he followed until he mastered the printer's art, through which he made his living until he abandoned it to step into higher circles in the Socialist movement. He worked, in his time, for some of the leading dailies of the great cities of America.

Leaving Chicago, he became connected with a country newspaper, where he set type and did anything and everything to be done about the place. It was as a printer that he first became interested in the labor movement, as early, perhaps, as 1885, when he joined the Printers' Union. About this same time he came to work in the Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C. After following his trade for a time in the service of "Uncle Sam," at the national capital, he drifted (in that proverbial way in which journeymen printers drift) to Philadelphia and became a compositor on the *Record*.

## MEETS FRED LONG.

Many prominent men, as well as men in ordinary circumstances of life, trace their later careers to the day when they met a certain individual. A conversation with a chance acquaintance often shapes the destiny of a man's life. Such was the case with Benjamin Hanford. The turning point came when he met Frederick Long, who was at that time a printer in Philadelphia, and is generally regarded as the father of Socialism in the City of Brotherly Love. The old man, Frederick W. Long, is known to every noted socialist in the country. At this writing, June, 1908, he lies upon a sick bed in the City of Philadelphia, where he has long been confined, and his socialist brethren contribute to his support. Eugene V. Debs says of him: "The socialists of this day owe Frederick Long a debt they can never pay. All they can do is to contribute of their means without stint to nurse him in comfort and to win him back to life and strength again. . . . He will indeed be a power of strength in the movement." John Spargo says: "As a teacher, Comrade Long has been signally successful. Some of the most learned and brilliant men in our ranks owe their conversion to his lucid and logical statements of the socialist's position." Benjamin Hanford thus attributes his own success to his friend and teacher: "Personally, my regard for Frederick Long is more than tongue can tell or heart can hold in silence. He was my beloved teacher. He gave words to my tongue, thought to my brain and cleared the understanding of my clouded mind. Such strength as is mine shall be devoted to the great cause that is his."

Since the day that Hanford met Long he has been an active socialist. How well his precept or teaching have taken root, flowered and fructified may be understood when we see that Hanford (the self-educated runaway boy and wandering printer) has three successive times been named by his party and ran on the socialist ticket for Governor of New York. Three years after his conversion by Long he was named as the socialist candidate for Vice-President and ran with Debs in 1904. How well his services counted may be estimated from the general statement that in 1900 the socialists polled 96,931 votes. Four years later they more than quadrupled that number, the exact count being 409,230 votes.

## A WIT AND A ORATOR.

Hanford is an original wit and humorist, and the friends of the Vice-Presidential candidate claim that his great forte is in putting in a witty and a chatty style the most telling points of socialism. He is a master also of sarcasm; and the contrast between his easy, chatty manner and his occasional rise to the heights of eloquence in serious passages rivets the attention of the audience to whatever subject he may address himself. He builds up a logical argument and invariably touches the mind of his listeners in a way that leaves a lasting impression. In one of his speeches he thus answers the capitalist press in its attack on Debs: "The capitalist press say Debs is a jail-bird. Debs will be known when the judge that sent him to jail will be forgotten. Like John Brown, when Debs lies moldering in the grave his spirit will go marching on until the slave labor or predatory wealth will be freed by the spirit of Debs, even as the black slaves of the South were freed by the spirit of John Brown. Who now hears of the judge that sentenced John Brown to hang? Who now knows or will hereafter inquire of the judge who sentenced Eugene V. Debs to jail? I am proud to be the running mate of the jail-bird who deemed it an honor to suffer in prison that those who come after him might have greater liberty."



## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS, LYMAN ABBOTT, CHARLES H. PARKHURST,  
FRANCES WILLARD AND OTHERS.

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Socialism, as defined by the dictionary, is "a theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of labor and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries."—*Standard Dictionary*.

The Socialist Party's platform sets forth the principles which it espouses and advocates in the campaign of 1908. It is the party of labor—ownership and operation for the laborer's benefit, as against capitalist ownership and operation for the exploitation of labor to the profit of the capitalist. It aims ultimately at the destruction of capitalism and a revolution of our economic system, by abolishing the present competitive basis of doing business. It would establish in its stead collective ownership of all enterprises upon which the masses depend, thus equalizing the rights of men—giving employment to all and making great riches or great poverty, with their attendant evils, impossible. It would establish finally the "golden rule of the people," under a system of ethics which Christian socialists claim were taught by Christ, culminating in the realization of the universal brotherhood of man under a system of law and government that will permit none to exploit or take advantage of his fellow-man.

Such a condition the socialists claim is not only the ideal one, but entirely possible of realization, if the capitalist system is destroyed and the collective ownership and co-operative system shall be established. Under this system alone, the socialist claims, can the tyranny of selfishness be fettered so that the human race may progress to

that individual development of body, mind and soul required to fulfill the mission and attain the happiness for which it was created.

In speaking on this subject Mr. Debs says:

HEADS AND HANDS, HEARTS AND SOULS, ARE THE HERITAGE OF ALL.

"Full opportunity for full development is the unalienable right of all. He who denies it is a tyrant; he who does not demand it is a coward; he who is indifferent to it is a slave; he who does not desire it is dead.

"The earth for all the people. That is the demand. The machinery of production and distribution for all the people. That is the demand. The collective ownership and control of industry and its democratic management in the interest of all the people. That is the demand. The elimination of rent, interest and profit and the production of wealth to satisfy the wants of all the people. That is the demand. Co-operative industry in which all shall work together in harmony as the basis of a new social order, a higher civilization, a real republic. That is the demand. The end of class struggles and class rule, of master and slave, of ignorance and vice, of poverty and shame, of cruelty and crime—the birth of freedom, the dawn of brotherhood, the beginning of man. That is the demand.

"This is socialism!

"Since the race was young there have been class struggles. In every state of society, ancient and modern, labor has been exploited, degraded and in subjection. Civilization has done little for labor except to modify the forms of its exploitation. Labor has always been the mudsill of the social fabric—is so now and will be until the class struggle ends in class extinction and free society.

"Society has always been and is now built upon exploitation—the exploitation of a class—the working class.

"Yet through all the centuries the enslaved toilers have moved slowly but surely toward their final freedom. The call of the Socialist Party is to the exploited class, the workers in all useful trades and professions, the minister, the lawyer, the teacher—all honest occupations, from the most menial service to the highest skill, to rally beneath their own standard and put an end to the last of the barbarous class struggles by conquering the capitalist government, taking possession of the means of production and making them the common

property of all, abolishing wage-slavery and establishing the co-operative commonwealth. The first step in this direction is to sever all relations with capitalist parties.

#### THE HOPEFUL GROWTH OF SOCIALISM.

"There will be a change one of these days. The world is just beginning to awaken, and is soon to sing its first anthem of freedom. All the signs of the times are cheering. Twenty-five years ago there was but a handful of socialists; to-day there are a half million. When the polls are closed next fall you will be astounded. The socialist movement is in alliance with the forces of progress. We are to-day where the abolitionists were in 1858. They had a million and a quarter of votes. There was dissension in the Whig, Republican and Free Soil parties, but the time had come for a great change, and the Republican Party was formed in spite of the bickerings and contentions of men. Lincoln made the great speech in that year that gave him the nomination and afterward made him President of the United States.

"If you had said to the people in 1858, 'In two years from now the Republican Party is going to sweep the country and seat the President,' you would have been laughed to scorn. The Socialist Party stands to-day where the Republican Party stood fifty years ago. It is in alliance with the forces of evolution, the one party that has a clear-cut, overmastering, overshadowing issue; the party that stands for all the people. In this system we have one set who are called capitalists, and another set who are called workers; and they are at war with each other over the division of the product.

#### HOW SOCIALISM WILL HELP ALL.

"Socialists propose that society in its collective capacity shall produce, not for profit, but in abundance to satisfy human wants; that every man shall have the inalienable right to work, and receive the full equivalent of all he produces; that he who does not work, neither shall he eat; that all may be workers and none shall be robbed of the fruit of his labor; that every man may stand fearlessly erect in the pride and majesty of his own manhood. Every man and every woman will be economically free. They can, without let or hindrance, apply their labor, with the best machinery that can



be devised, to all the natural resources, do the work of society and produce for all; and then receive in exchange a certificate of value equivalent to that of their production. Then society will improve its institutions in exact proportion to the progress of invention. Whether you work in city or on farm, all things productive will be carried forward on a gigantic scale. All industry will be completely organized. Society for the first time will have a scientific foundation. Every man, by being economically free, will have some time for himself. He can then take a full and perfect breath. He can go to his wife and children because then he will have a home.

#### WILL ESTABLISH PRIVATE PROPERTY.

"We are not going to destroy private property. We are going to introduce and establish private property—all the private property that is necessary to house man, keep him in comfort and satisfy all his physical wants. Eighty per cent of the people in the United States have no property of any kind to-day. A few have got it all. They have dispossessed the people, and when we get into full power we will dispossess them. We will reduce the workday and give every man a chance. We will go to the parks, and we will have music because we will have time to play music and inclination to hear it. Is it not sad to think that not one in a thousand knows what music is? Man has all of the divine attributes. They are in a latent state. They are not yet developed. It does not pay now to love music. Keep your eye on the almighty dollar and your fellow-man. Get the dollar and keep him down. Make him produce for you. You are not your brother's keeper in this present system. Suppose he is poor! Suppose his wife is forced into sin! Suppose his child is deformed! And suppose he shuffles off by destroying himself! What is that to you? But you ought to be ashamed. Take the standard home and look it in the face.

#### WICKEDNESS OF PRESENT BUSINESS ETHICS.

"Our conduct is determined by our economic relations. If you and I must fight each other to exist, we will not love each other very hard. We can go to the same church and hear the same minister tell us in good conscience that we ought to love each other, and the next day we approach to the edge of some business transaction. Do we remember what the minister told us? No, it is gone until next Sun-

day. Six days in the week we are following the Golden Rule reversed. Now, when we approach the edge of a business transaction in competition, what is more natural than that we should try to get the better of the transaction?—get the better of our fellow-man?—cheat him if we can? And if you succeed, that fixes him as a successful business man. You have all the necessary qualifications. Don't let your conscience disturb you—that would interfere with business. This wickedness comes from the competitive system.

#### HUMANITY AND THE FUTURE.

"I am not a prophet, but I do study the forces that underlie society and the trend of evolution. I can tell by what we have passed through about what we will have in the future; and I know that capitalism can be beaten, and the people put ultimately in possession. Now, then, when we have taken possession, and we jointly own the sources and means of production, we will no longer have to fight each other to live; our interests, instead of being competitive, will be co-operative. We will work side by side. Your interest shall be mine and mine will be yours. That is the economic condition from which will spring the humane social relation.

"When we are in partnership and have stopped clutching each other's throats, when we have stopped enslaving each other, then we will stand together, hands clasped, and we will be friends. We will be comrades, we will be brothers, and we will begin the march to the grandest civilization that the human race has ever known."

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#### OPINIONS OF EMINENT PERSONS ON SOCIALISM.

The most promising outlook for the propagation of socialism is in the friendly attitude of eminent writers, speakers and teachers to its doctrines. Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and "Equality" were widely read, and accentuated the movement in America mightily during the closing years of the last century. Edwin Markham's poems have sung its themes and Tolstoi's and Sinclair's books have pressed its teachings home in thousands of minds unconsciously to the reader; and these are but a few prominent ones among many strong writers whose influence is making itself felt. The following quotations are suggestive of its hold upon leaders in various walks of life:

"The labor problem can never be solved as long as one set of men own the tools and another set uses them. When all those connected with one industry become together owners and users, then will come the harmony and unison so long striven for."—*Lyman Abbott, D.D., LL.D., editor of the "Outlook."*

"Socialism has nowadays too many, too honest and too thoughtful devotees to be ignored. . . . It is stronger at this moment than ever before, and is rapidly growing."—*Prof. E. Benjamin Andrews, late President University of Nebraska, "Wealth and Moral Law," 91.*

"Socialism being the product of social evolution, the only danger lies in obstructing it."—*Rev. F. M. Sprague.*

"Socialism is simply applied Christianity; the Golden Rule applied to everyday life. . . . The present need is growth in that direction."—*Prof. R. T. Ely.*

"Government and co-operation are, in all things and eternally, the laws of life; anarchy and competition, eternally and in all things, the laws of death."—*John Ruskin.*

"I have looked at the socialist claim by the light of history and my own conscience, and it seems to me so looked at to be a most just claim, and that resistance to it means nothing short of a denial of the hope of civilization.

"Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim; yet if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we were doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward could not fail us! What serious harm could happen to us then? And the price to be paid for so making the world happy is revolution."—*William Morris.*

#### CHRIST A SOCIALIST.

"Christ was a socialist. He generated the impulse which has since then been seeking to materialize itself into concrete forms of social relation. And let it be said just at this point that any man who does honest and serious experimenting along that line is a contributor to the final result, and is to be encouraged, not vituperated. Bigotry is no more commendable in economics than in religion. The heresy



of to-day always stands a chance of being the orthodoxy of to-morrow. . . .

"All human ownership begins in a grab, in assuming that to be ours which is not ours, and continues as long as we can maintain the assumption successfully. . . .

"This, then, is what we understand by Christian socialism. It is not communism; it is not the negation of wealth. It is not the denial of individualism, but it is the insistence upon individualism considered as means to a wholesome collectivism."—*Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, noted reformer of New York, "Munsey's," September, 1906.*

#### FRANCES WILLARD'S VIEWS ON SOCIALISM.

Frances E. Willard, late president of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, shortly before her death wrote:

"I believe the things that Christian socialism stands for. . . . It is God's way out of the wilderness into the promised land. It is the very marrow and fatness of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied. Oh! that I were young again, and it should have my life.

"I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plan that we call civilization . . . and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give the finest physical development, but not enough to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable—indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism. I believe that competition is doomed. . . . What the socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher law; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood."

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE PEOPLE'S PARTY AND THE CONVENTION OF 1908.

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The People's party became a factor in American politics in 1892. The national convention of the party met that year at Omaha, Nebraska, and enunciated principles of a platform which have been practically reiterated and endorsed from that time forward. Under the leadership of Thomas E. Watson, a noted writer on historical and political subjects, the People's party claims to hold to the key-note of the Declaration of Independence, that declared every man equal in a political sense. It was the claim of the organizers of the People's party that both the Republican and Democratic parties had wandered so far from this fundamental truth that it became necessary for those who believed in the Jeffersonian principle to unite in the forming of a new party which should be conducted in the interests of the common people. In other words, in the language of Abraham Lincoln, administer "the government of the people, by the people and for the people." They claim that the Democratic and Republican parties in departing from that principle, emphasized by the first Republican President, are responsible for the ills from which we suffer as a nation. They charge the old parties so far as they have been in power with giving special privileges to the few that has enabled them to dominate the many, thereby tending to destroy the political equality which is the cornerstone of democratic government.

The People's party calls for a return to the truths enunciated, and the simplicity of government recommended, by the fathers of our republic; and they vigorously protest against the spirit of mammonism and of the thinly veiled spirit of monarchy which they declare is invading sections of our national life and laying hold upon the administration itself. They have objected to the spirit of militarism, stoutly opposed the building up of great armies and navies. They claim that a political democracy and an industrial despotism cannot

exist side by side. They insist that this is shown in the history of the gigantic monopolies, which have bred all sorts of kindred trusts and permeated the governments of the States and of the nation itself. They declare that the present system of railroad monopoly and power will eventually own the government and practically enslave the people; therefore, they insist upon government ownership of railroads, on the ground that it is better the government should own the railroad than that the railroads and other trusts should own the government. They claim that the issuing of money must be done directly by the government and not delegated to banks. They defend the right of labor to organize, and recommend the abolition of child labor, the suppression of sweat shop and the exclusion of foreign labor from American shores.

The foregoing are some of the principles of the People's Party as advocated by them from the beginning. It will be observed in many of these principles as well as in the platforms of the party for 1908, which follows, they do not differ materially from the enunciations of the Democratic party; and, in some, they closely resemble the Socialist Party. In fact, it has been charged that Mr. Bryan, the Democratic leader, belongs in principle as much to the People's Party as he does to the Democratic party. From Mr. Bryan's attitude in 1896 this sentiment prevailed so strongly that the People's Party leaders in their convention placed Mr. Bryan at the head of their ticket as Presidential candidate.

The strongest showing made by the People's Party was when James B. Weaver, of Iowa, was their candidate in the campaign of 1892, when they polled 1,041,000 votes. Mr. Bryan, as the joint candidate of the People's and the Democratic parties in 1896, polled 6,502,925 votes. In 1900 the party split, holding two conventions, both on May 10th—one at Sioux Falls, S. D., nominated William J. Bryan, the other at Cincinnati nominated Wharton Barker, of Philadelphia. Mr. Barker received only 50,373 votes. After this the party suffered material diminution in its following, which drifted largely back to the Democrats or went into other parties. In 1904 Thomas E. Watson, the strongest individual candidate that the party had yet nominated independently, received only 117,183 popular votes. Hence the People's Party stands to-day rather in the light of an organized protest against what it considers wrong in both the Democratic and



the Republican parties. It seems entirely fair to say that if the Democratic party should become a little more populist, it might practically absorb into itself the entire constituency of the People's Party without doing serious violence to the principles of either.

#### THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

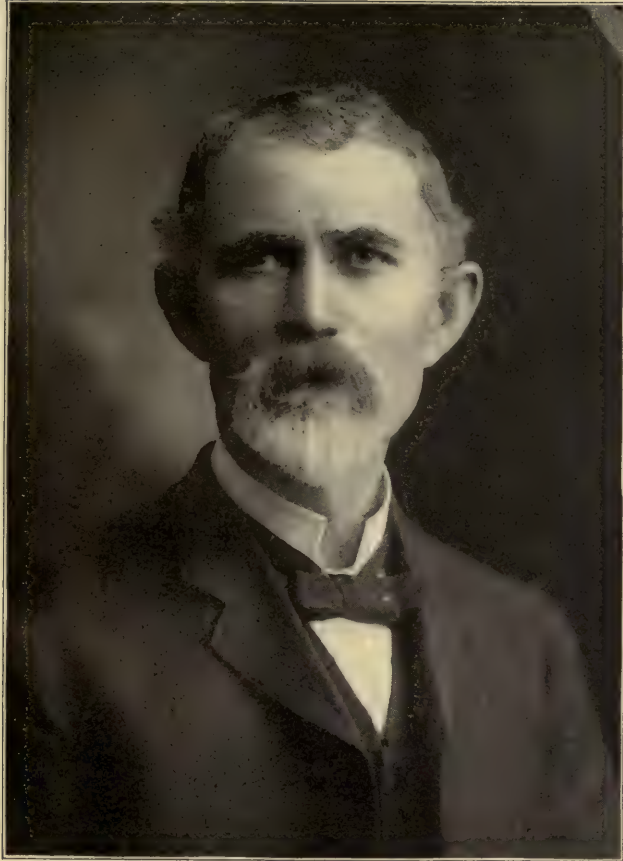
The People's Party National Convention of 1908 was held at St. Louis, Missouri, on April 2d and 3d.

The details of the proceedings are omitted for the reason that they are in their generalities a counterpart of those of other conventions with the exception that the extravagant expenditure of money, and but little spread-eagle oratory was indulged in.

It was a quiet, orderly body of serious, sensible men, who had the courage and patriotism to meet and express their theory of government in a formulated platform, and to put in nomination strong men to champion the principles which they espoused.

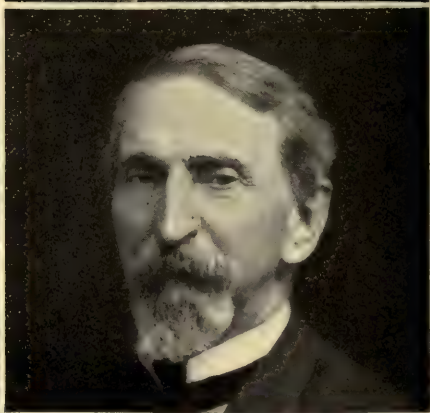
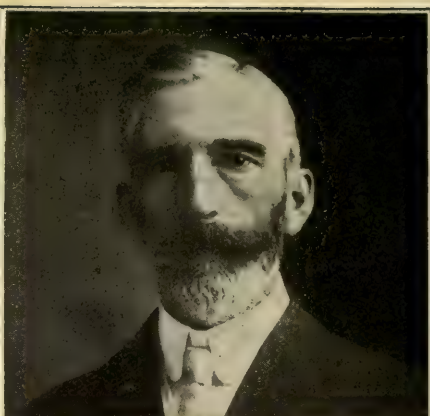
Thomas E. Watson, the standard bearer for the party in 1904, was nominated for President, and Hon. Samuel W. Williams, of Indiana, for Vice-President. Mr. Watson was formally notified of his nomination at Atlanta, Georgia, on July 9th, and Mr. Williams was notified on July 15th at his home in Vincennes, Indiana. Both candidates made ringing and patriotic speeches in response to the notification, sounding the keynote principles of the party.

The platform, as unanimously adopted, follows in the next chapter.



SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS

People's Party Candidate for Vice-President.



GOVERNORS OF GEORGIA, VERMONT, NEW MEXICO, WYOMING,  
NORTH DAKOTA, OHIO.

Hoke Smith, Georgia.  
Fletcher D. Proctor, Vermont.  
George Curry, New Mexico.

Bryant B. Brooks, Wyoming.  
John Burke, North Dakota.  
Andrew L. Harris, Ohio.



## CHAPTER XXI.

### PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM, 1908.

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ADOPTED AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION HELD AT ST. LOUIS, APRIL  
2 AND 3, 1908.

#### PREAMBLE.

The People's Party of the United States in convention assembled at St. Louis, Missouri, this second day of April, 1908, with increased confidence in its contentions, reaffirms the declarations made by its national convention at Omaha.

The admonition of Washington's farewell; the State papers of Jefferson and the words of Lincoln are the teachings of our greatest apostles of human rights and political liberty. There has been a departure from the teachings of these great patriots during recent administrations. The Government has been controlled so as to place the rights of property above the rights of humanity and has brought the country to a condition that is full of danger for our national well-being. Financial combinations have had too much power over Congress and too much influence with the administrative departments of the Government.

Prerogatives of government have been unwisely and often corruptly surrendered to corporate monopoly and aggregations of predatory wealth. The supreme duty of the hour is for the people to insist that these functions of government be exercised in their own interests. Not the giver of the "thirty pieces" of silver has been condemned, but the "Judas" that received them, execrated through the ages; the sycophants of monopoly deserve no better fate.

#### MONEY.

The issuance of money is a function of government and should not be neglected to corporations or individuals. The constitution gives

Congress alone the power to issue money and regulate the value thereof. We therefore demand that all the money shall be issued by the Government direct to the people without the intervention of banks and shall be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and in quantity sufficient to supply the needs of the country.

The issue and distribution of full legal tender money from the Treasury shall not be through private banks, preferred or otherwise, but direct to the people without interest for the construction and purchase of Federal and internal improvements, utilities and employment of labor.

#### LAND.

The public domain is the sacred heritage of all the people and should be held for homesteads for actual settlers only. Alien ownership should be forbidden, and lands now held by aliens or by corporations who have violated the conditions of their grants should be restored to the public domain.

#### TRUSTS AND MONOPOLY.

To prevent unjust discrimination and monopoly the Government should own and control the railroads and those public utilities which in their nature are monopolies. To perfect the postal service the Government should own and operate the general telegraph and telephone systems and provide a parcels post.

As to those trusts and monopolies which are not public utilities or natural monopolies we demand that these special privileges which they now enjoy and which alone enable them to exist should be immediately withdrawn.

Corporations being the creatures of government should be subjected to such governmental regulation and control as will adequately protect the public.

We demand the taxation of monopoly privileges while they remain in private hands to the extent of the value of the privilege granted.

We demand that Congress shall enact a general law uniformly regulating the powers and duties of all incorporated companies doing interstate business.

## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

As a means of placing all public questions directly under the control of the people we demand that legal provision be made under which the people may exercise the initiative, referendum and proportional representation, and direct vote for all public officers with the right of recall.

We recommend a federal statute that will recognize the principle of the initiative and referendum, and thereby restore to the voters the right to instruct their national representatives.

## SAVINGS BANKS.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people.

## LABOR.

We believe in the right of those who labor to organize for their mutual protection and benefit, and pledge the efforts of the People's Party to preserve this right inviolate.

We condemn the recent attempt to destroy the power of trades unions through the unjust use of Federal injunction, substituting government by injunction for free government.

We favor the enactment of legislation looking to the improvement of conditions for wage-earners.

We demand the abolition of child labor in factories and mines, and the suppression of sweatshops.

We oppose the use of convict labor in competition with free labor.

We demand the exclusion from American shores of foreign pauper labor imported to beat down the wages of intelligent American workmen.

We favor the eight-hour workday, and legislation protecting the lives and limbs of workmen through the use of safety appliances.

We demand the enactment of an Employer's Liability Act within constitutional bounds.

We declare against the continuation of the criminal carelessness of the operation of mines through which thousands of miners have lost their lives to increase the dividends of stockholders and demand



the immediate adoption of precautionary measures to prevent a repetition of such horrible catastrophes.

We declare that, in times of depression when workingmen are thrown into enforced idleness, works of public improvement should be at once inaugurated and work provided for those who cannot otherwise secure employment.

We especially emphasize the declaration of the Omaha platform that "Wealth belongs to him who creates it and every dollar taken from labor without a just equivalent is robbery."

We congratulate the farmers of the country upon the enormous growth of their splendid organizations and the good already accomplished, through them, bringing higher prices for farm products and better conditions generally for those engaged in agricultural pursuits. We urge the importance of maintaining these organizations and extending their power and influence.

#### COURTS.

We condemn all unwarranted assumption of authority by inferior federal courts in annulling by injunction, the laws of the States, and demand legislative action by Congress which will inhibit such usurpation and will restrict to the Supreme Court of the United States the exercise of such power in cases involving State legislation.

We are opposed to gambling in futures.

We present to all people the foregoing declaration of principles and policies as our deep, earnest, abiding convictions; and now, before the country and in the name of the great moral but eternal power in the universe that makes for right thinking and right living, and determines the destiny of nations, this convention pledges that the People's Party will stand by these principles and policies in success and in defeat; that never again will the party be tempted by the siren songs and false promises of designing politicians to change its course or be again drawn upon the treacherous rocks of fusion.

## CHAPTER XXII.

THOMAS E. WATSON,

PEOPLE'S PARTY CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, 1908.

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Like most reformers, Thomas E. Watson, feels himself called upon to battle with a small minority for what he believes to be the good of the great majority. That he is an honest man, sincere in his convictions and patriotic in his motives, his worst enemies would hardly gainsay. That he is a deep student of political economy, of the history of the government and of the history of nations, and of the biographies of great leaders, no one will fail to recognize who reads his books or who follows him in his magazine articles which have appeared in *Tom Watson's Magazine*, of New York, and later in his *Jeffersonian Magazine* and his *Weekly Jeffersonian*, published at Thomson, Georgia.

Mr. Watson is one of those who will probably never reap the fruit of his sowing. That he is scattering the seeds of truth in fertile soil where it will spring up and bring forth a useful harvest cannot be doubted; but that harvest will be gathered into the garner of the Democratic and Republican parties, who, attracted by his writings and the power he exercises over the people, will gradually incorporate those things that he has talked and which the people shall indorse and demand into their respective items of policy. It is hardly to be expected that anything like the full fruition of Watson's efforts will be realized during his lifetime. There is little doubt that his opponents, in many respects, are right in regarding his views as illogical or untimely; but it is also entirely probable that, fifty years from now, the next generation will find in the archives of the political writings of early decades of the twentieth century more than one item of importance credited to Thomas E. Watson. The shrine at which Mr. Watson has paid his political devotion and whence he has drawn his greatest inspiration is that of Thomas Jefferson. It is doubtful if

there is a more profound Jeffersonian scholar in America to-day than Tom Watson, of Georgia. His life of Jefferson is likely to stand as one of the greatest works in American biography, even as his life of Napoleon will stand as one of the truest character portraits of the great Frenchman.

Thomas E. Watson was born in Columbia County, Georgia, September 5, 1856. He attended Mercer College, Georgia, for two years. Afterwards taught school, and was admitted to the bar in 1875. He began practice in Thomson, Georgia, which is his present home. In 1882 to 1883 he was a member of the Georgia Legislature and in 1888 was made Democratic elector-at-large. In 1891 he joined the People's Party and was elected to Congress. He ran again for the next term and claimed election (on an honest count), but his opponent was counted in and given the seat in the National Congress, and Watson resumed the practice of law in 1895. During Mr. Watson's term in Congress he secured the first appropriation for free delivery of mails in rural districts that Congress ever passed. In 1896 he was prominently considered as a candidate of the People's Party for President of the United States, but the convention concluded to endorse Mr. Bryan, the Democratic nominee, and Mr. Watson was nominated as his running mate for Vice-President. In 1904 he was nominated as the Presidential candidate of the People's Party and made an active campaign, polling 117,183 votes.

Reference has already been made to Mr. Watson's literary work. To be more specific, he is the author of "The Story of France," which was published in 1898; "The Life of Thomas Jefferson," 1900; "The Life of Napoleon," 1902; "The Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson," 1903; "Bethany, a Study and Story of the Old South," 1904. In 1905 he began the publication of *Tom Watson's Magazine* in New York, but, unfortunately for himself, formed a stock company to finance the paper, and the board undertook to dictate the policy, and, as Mr. Watson claims, attempted to censor his articles in such a way as to thwart the purpose of the writer. This he rebelled against, and disposed of his stock in the company, gave up the magazine, and went home to Thomson, Georgia, where he established *Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine* and the *Weekly Jeffersonian*, which he has continued to publish. These two periodicals are accepted as the chief organs of the People's Party. They are written and edited in Mr. Watson's characteristic forceful style.



Those who would know the People's Party candidate better we would refer to his book, "The Life and Speeches of Thomas E. Watson." This work contains a biographical sketch written by himself and a careful selection of addresses made by him during the last thirty years. These speeches cover a great variety of subjects, and reveal the man outside and inside the political arena. They contain even some of his commencement speeches and his oft-quoted eulogy on Alexander Stephens, delivered before the Georgia Legislature. Here will be found also his Labor Day speech, and many of his political and economic addresses, which represent the crystallization of years of research and closest study. These speeches cover child labor, tariff, Government ownership, national finance and banking, etc. Watson's "Hand-Book of Politics and Economics" may also be consulted with profit. It gives a history of political parties in America and devotes special attention to that class of legislation which he declares oppresses the common people. It shows the growth of those unsettled conditions in finance which, beginning with the Civil War, culminated in repeated panics, including that of 1907. It also discusses socialism and its causes, the encroachment of the federal judiciary, the injustices suffered by the farming classes, etc.—of course from his own partisan standpoint, but, withal, in the light of history and with the experience of a student and the vision of a statesman who is able to formulate and project from out the laboratory of fair reasoning a logical picture upon the canvas of the future. Mr. Watson has been a profound investigator and student of history from ancient times. His "Sketches from Roman History" shows his analytical familiarity with the leading characters of that first great republic. From the lives of these old Romans he draws the lessons that clearly set forth the ruinous workings of class legislation in ancient times, some of which cast their ominous shadows through the ages, like warning clouds, upon the horizon of our own time and country.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS,

PEOPLE'S PARTY CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT, 1908.

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Samuel W. Williams, the People's Party candidate for Vice-President, has been twice honored with the nomination to that office. The People's Party convention of 1904 tendered it to him, but he declined. Mr. Williams was born at Mt. Carmel, Ill., February 7, 1851. He received his education in the public schools and later attended the Friendsville Academy, at Friendsville, Ill., with a view to preparing himself for the Presbyterian ministry. He graduated at this academy in 1869. Instead of entering the ministry, however, he studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1874, and has been an active practitioner down to the present time. As a trial lawyer and judge, Mr. Williams takes front rank. He has been engaged in many noted jury cases during the last thirty years.

#### AN OLD-TIME DEMOCRAT.

In politics, up to the time he became a Populist, he was an ardent Democrat. He served as deputy clerk of Wabash County for the term of one year, and was elected in 1876 prosecuting attorney of Knox County, serving two years. In 1882 he was elected on the Democratic ticket as a member of the State legislature from Knox County, in which capacity he served four years. Mr. Williams was also for a time president of the Knox County Bar Association.

As a Populist Mr. Williams is one of the originators of the party. It was during Mr. Cleveland's first term that he left the Democratic Party. Prior to the organization of the People's Party he removed to the State of Indiana and has always been a leader of the Populists in that State, as well as a prominent figure in the National Council of the People's Party. He has served as a delegate to every national

convention which the party has held, and was chairman of the first Indiana State convention.

#### A SINGLE TAX ADVOCATE.

Mr. Williams is a "Single Tax" advocate of ability. He was the personal friend of the late Henry George and of Father McGlynn. He stumped the State of New York for Mr. George in 1887 when the latter was a candidate for Secretary of State against Grant and Murphy. While a member of the legislature he introduced and secured the passage of a bill fixing the maximum rate of toll and rental for telephone companies. He also introduced and advocated bills limiting land-holding.

Mr. Williams has always favored the direct vote of the people in the election of United States Senators, and he is one of the earliest advocates of this measure in the country. He proposed a bill to that effect many years before it became a popular doctrine of the Democratic Party.

#### NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE'S VISIT.

It was on July 15, 1908, that the notification committee visited the Vice-Presidential candidate at his home in Vincennes, Indiana. The notification speech was delivered by Joseph A. Parker, of Louisville, Ky. Mr. Williams responded, giving the keynote of his party and criticised the Democratic and Republican platforms.

The notification was a non-partisan affair and was preceded by an open-air band concert at the Grand Hotel. Mayor George E. Greene, a Democrat, made the welcoming address. He said in part: "You have done Vincennes another great honor. Mr. Williams, whom you have chosen for your candidate for Vice-President, is a gifted speaker, a deep thinker and has a broad knowledge of the law. His chief study is politics and literature, and these make him a born leader."

Members of the notification committee were Mr. Williams' guests for two days, and spent most of their time at his residence.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

### PRINCIPLES AND CLAIMS OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

BY THOMAS E. WATSON AND SAMUEL S. WILLIAMS.

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Mr. Watson declares that the People's Party espouses the principles of the true democracy. These principles are set forth in its platform, published in a previous chapter. On this point Mr. Watson says:

"Judging by the principles of historic democracy the Bryanites of to-day have no right to call themselves Democrats. By the same token the Populists of to-day are the true political representatives of Jefferson and Jackson. Measured by the teachings of John C. Calhoun, of Thomas H. Benton, of Thomas Jefferson and George Mason, I am the Democrat and Mr. Bryan the Hamiltonian.

"I stand for the financial system of our fathers, that which is embodied in the Constitution of the United States, and which was practiced consistently for nearly one hundred years. The matured wisdom of John C. Calhoun, as evidencel in his masterful speeches upon finance; the lifelong lessons of Thomas Jefferson, and the principles announced during the great fight that Benton and Jackson made upon the national banks, have ever been my source of authority for the faith that is in me upon the pre-eminently important question of money. On every other principle that marked as distinctive from all others the creed of Jefferson and Jackson I stand with them, and I cannot but believe that the country must return to these ancient landmarks before there will be a return of that general prosperity which was the fruit of this tree previous to the time when it was uprooted, during the terrible era of the Civil War.

"For eighteen years my position has been the same. For eighteen years I have battled against all odds for the creed of our

fathers. If necessary I am ready to battle for them eighteen other years, and as long as I can raise a hand or open my lips.

"How is it with Mr. Bryan, who is claiming to be a Democrat, and who appropriates as an unquestionable political asset of his own the one hundred and fifty-six electoral votes of the South? In 1896 he and I stood together. The convention which nominated him nominated me. His acceptance was in writing, as was mine. To-day I stand by the same creed that Bryan and Watson stood for in 1896, and I only regret that the recreancy of Mr. Bryan and his truckling to Wall Street have deprived us of the irresistible strength that co-operation would have given to us.

"The greatest purpose of my life now is to put the South back into the position of national influence which she held before the Civil War, and to bring back the reign of Democratic principles as they were practiced in the forties and fifties.

"If the South will follow me in this campaign, revolting against the odious conditions under which she is expected to serve Mr. Bryan, she will at once resume her old place in the sisterhood of States.

"Let the South become politically uncertain and she will once more become politically great.

#### THE TRIUMPH OF POPULISM.

"Stand your grounds, comrades, stand your ground! Things are coming your way.

"The leaven of your principles is at work throughout the Union. In State laws and in Presidential politics your influence can be seen. Your stand for the right, regardless of popularity and the sweets of official position, is bearing fruit, and you, the despised of all parties, are become the respected of all. That you are the only true Jeffersonian Democrats is being universally recognized. That you alone stand for the political supremacy of the whites is being felt. That yours is the only political party which can bring about political union between the West and South, to overthrow the hateful domination of Eastern and Northern capitalism, will become clearer with every campaign.

#### HEARST'S INDEPENDENCE PARTY ATTACKED.

"In January of this year the Hearst party met in Indianapolis and adopted a platform which favored ship subsidies, national banks,

and governmental loans to these banks. It opposed tariff revision and opposed the governmental ownership of railroads.

"The Jeffersonian and other Populist papers ridiculed the Hearst platform and warned you of the Hearst movement.

"During the last days of July the Hearst crowd assembled itself together again in Chicago and threw away their Indianapolis platform. Six months was as long as the Hearst crowd could afford to wear the same suit of clothes.

#### STEALS POPULIST PLATFORM.

"Their new platform is almost entirely an appropriation of Populist doctrines.

"Why this startling conversion from Wall Streetism to Populism? This has happened: It has been demonstrated to Mr. Hearst that he cannot openly carry the reformers over to Wall Street.

"It being the purpose of Hearst to capture the old-guard Populists for his own sinister purpose, he has now adopted a Populist platform, instead of the Wall Street platform of six months ago.

#### HIRELINGS LEAD THE PARTY.

"If Hearst were sincere in his conversion to Populism he would have given his support to the Populist ticket rather than put out his employees to run against it. Its so-called leaders are his editors and employees. Almost without exception those who are prominent in its movement are upon Hearst's pay roll.

"Hearst says to Populism: 'I've adopted your principles. Now come into my parlor.'

"In answer to his insolence—insolence born of the belief that with his money he can buy enough men to make him President in 1912—we Populists say:

" 'We shall not enter your parlor, for we know that had you sincerely believed in the principles you now profess you would not have set up a new party, owned and controlled by your copyright and your purse. Were you honestly a Populist, as you now pretend to be, you would not be exerting all your power to destroy men who were true to Populism when you were a partner of first the one and then the other of the vilest elements of the two old parties.'

"In a country like ours, where the sense of individual freedom is so strong, the people will never consent to compromise their own



liberty of action by becoming members of a personally conducted and privately owned political organization.

"Comrades! Stand your ground. This Hearst ambushade is about the last danger that you must encounter. Warned in time, avoid it.

"After that, straight Populism will be triumphant."

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### SOME FACTS AND ARGUMENTS.

BY SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

"The People's Party has the courage of its convictions and stands up for the rights of the common people. In 1888 our party cast one million votes and William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, first came into the limelight by stumping the State of Nebraska for the People's Party ticket. The Populist Party carried the State of Nebraska. In 1894 our strength had so rapidly increased that we elected more than thirty members of Congress and eight or ten members of the United States Senate and many Governors and State and local tickets. These triumphs of the common people startled the trusts, and a scheme was set on foot to destroy the People's Party.

### THE OLD PARTIES CANNOT BE TRUSTED.

"Plutocracy has the Republican Party as its avowed champion.

"Plutocracy uses the Democratic Party to serve as a dog in the manger to keep a real party out of opposition.

"I submit to you that while the People's Party in open and express terms condemns government by injunction and declares, as it has always declared in favor of a distinct department of government, to wit, executive, legislative and judicial; that in fact there is no more difference between the Democratic and Republican positions on this question than there is between tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum.

"The Democratic Party gave us soup houses and distress in 1903, during its last administration, and now in 1908 the Democratic National Convention brazenly insults popular intelligence by giving unqualified endorsement to Cleveland's administration.

"The Republican Party was sired by Alexander Hamilton though it is a posthumous child. But for Alexander Hamilton and his teach-

ings federal judges would not be appointed to their office; would not hold the same for life, and these offices would not be a part of the patronage to be bestowed by a political President for party service rendered to him and his.

"Except for Alexander Hamilton and his influence the American people would elect their President and Vice-President of the United States by a direct vote of the people without the intervention of the cumbrous machinery called the Electoral College. Keep in mind the fact that the Republican Party has been continuously in power for forty-eight years, with the exception of eight years of Cleveland at the helm. Therefore the Republican Party stands responsible, justly, at the bar of public opinion for all legislation on the statute books, as well as for existing conditions resulting from these laws.

"In the cesspool of tariff infamy under the sickening and withering heat of currency contraction, trusts and poverty breathe and thrive and multiply like typhus germs in a clogged sewer.

"The principles enunciated in the platform of the People's Party would correct the above evils and restore Jeffersonian Democracy to our country.

#### BANKS AND MONEY.

"One erroneous impression in the public mind is that the People's Party is opposed to banks and makes war on bankers as such. It is my duty to correct this statement; the bank of discount and deposit is as necessary to the commercial and social well being of a community as is the grocery store or the meat market, and as convenient as a collar button or a wheelbarrow, and personally the average banker is a man of high repute and great goodness of heart. We would not destroy banks and we would fix bankers so no war would be made on them.

"But the Populist demand is that all money in circulation shall be legal tender for all debts, public and private, and shall be issued to the public without the intervention of banks. The only way to regulate the value of money is to regulate its volume. I mean by that, regulate the amount of money in existence, that is to say, in circulation. The Populist not only demands that Congress shall issue the money, but that it shall regulate its value and regulate it in such a way as to give a sufficient volume of money to the country at all times to properly satisfy the demands of commerce and labor."

## CHAPTER XXV.

### THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1908.

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The National Independence Party was formally organized on Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1908, in Chicago, Ill. In launching his party Mr. Hearst declared that both the old parties have ceased to stand for any definite idea. "The word Democracy," he says, "defines no doctrine," and the word Republican, he declares, "expresses no principle." He declares that both of the parties are divided within themselves, one wing of it standing for one thing and another for the very opposite thing. Speaking to this point at the launching of his party in Chicago, Mr. Hearst said: "Men are Democrats by inheritance and Republicans by tradition. There are Democrats who believe in free trade and Democrats who believe in protection. There are trust Democrats and anti-trust Democrats. There are Democrats who believe in public ownership of public utilities and Democrats who believe in private ownership of public utilities. There are Democrats who differ fundamentally from other Democrats, and who agree absolutely with certain Republicans. Of all the various parties which exist in the nation, I have found that the two that are the most bitterly, the most utterly and most uncompromisingly opposed to each other are the radical Democratic party and the conservative Democratic party."

The *Literary Digest* of March 7th, in commenting upon the new party, observed:

"In view of this chaos in the old parties, Mr. Hearst calls upon all true patriots to rally to his standard and support a party which stands, he avers, for the principles of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln. Some of the cardinal principles in the platform of the new party are enunciated as follows:

"Direct nominations by the people of all candidates for office.



"The election of United States Senators and Judges by the people.

"An income tax and the referendum.

"The right of the people to recall public officials from public service.

The immediate government ownership of railroad and telegraph lines.

Emergency currency to be issued only by the government.

An eight-hour day for workingmen.

A law making blacklisting illegal.

An interstate commerce court to enforce the rulings of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

A ship subsidy for the development of commerce.

National postal savings banks.

Nothing was said at that convention about the new party's candidate for the Presidency, but it was generally taken by the press and the public that Mr. Hearst would carry the standard himself. As the *Savannah News* (Dem.) observes:

"There doesn't seem to be any doubt that Mr. Hearst will be at the head of the ticket. It is difficult to think of any other man in that position. It is Mr. Hearst's party. Its principles are his, and it is but natural that he should be its leader.

"Of course he doesn't expect to be elected. He does expect, however, to make such an impression that the new party will be heard from in the Presidential campaign of 1912."

Many politicians then refused and still refuse to see anything more in this affair than a new "third party," like the many that have sprung up and disappeared from time to time in former years. Says the *Detroit Free Press* (Ind. Dem.):

"As the political tides have been charted in the past, this would seem to be an unpromising year for new political parties or for third parties generally, whether new or old. While dissatisfaction due to business disturbance has contributed to the popular interest in such parties in former campaign years, they have generally made slight headway except as a protest against too great conservatism in administration and a refusal to inaugurate reforms. . . .

"The policies of both of the two old parties embrace enough of the actually radical or at least of the reformatory at present to satisfy all except a negligible quantity of the voters, leaving to third parties



BENJAMIN HANFORD

Socialist Candidate for Vice-President.



GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS, FLORIDA, ARIZONA, TENNESSEE,  
MISSISSIPPI, TEXAS.

Curtis Guild, Jr., Massachusetts.  
Napoleon B. Broward, Florida.  
Joseph H. Kibbey, Arizona.

Malcolm R. Patterson, Tennessee.  
E. F. Noel, Mississippi.  
Thomas M. Campbell, Texas.



little on which to make appeal. Declarations for an income tax, for labor legislation, for government ownership of telegraph lines, etc., are hardly distinctive enough to render the Independence League platform attractive to large masses of the electorate.

"While, however, conditions give small opportunity for new parties or third parties in a national sense, it is just possible that the situation in some particular States might give them importance to the extent to which such States may be able to affect the national election. Mr. Hearst's Independence League contributed to sweeping changes in New York at the last election in that State. If it develops as a national movement in the coming election a fractional part of the strength it then developed, it might have possibilities in the way of complicating matters.

"However, the national election will take place under conditions differing greatly from those present in the State election."

Mr. Watterson's Louisville *Courier-Journal* (Dem.) told Mr. Hearst plainly that his new party was not wanted. To quote:

"It is difficult to see the exact need of the party Mr. Hearst thus has set loose. Much of what it advocates may be found already existing in the platforms or in the speeches of high exponents of the two pre-existing parties. It seems to have picked out some of the worst and most pernicious doctrines of the old parties and made them the archstones of its political faith.

"As a matter of fact, what the country needs is an actual, sincere, and strict return to the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln. Both the old parties embrace, as it is, a superfluity of iniquity in their latter-day platform and practices. No farther extension or concentration of this iniquity is wholesome or desirable. The people wish a square deal, equality before the law, freedom from capitalistic domination, honest elections, and home rule. Also they want relief from the brays of demagogues and the prejudices and vagaries of agitators."

Evidently Mr. Hearst agreed with Mr. Watterson in the above statement as to the needs of the country. But he did not agree with him in the belief that the needs of the country would be met by the old parties; and he, therefore, launched his new party in a National Convention at Chicago, July 27, 1908, himself acting as temporary chairman and sounding the key-note of its principles.

THE FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY,  
CHICAGO, JULY 27, 1908.

The National Independence Party opened its first convention at 8.30 P. M. in Orchestra Hall, Chicago, July 27, 1908. Laudable zeal and enthusiasm marked the proceedings from the hour the doors were thrown open. In a speech of dramatic earnestness William Randolph Hearst sounded the key-note for the first campaign of the new-born party—the party of which he is legitimately entitled to be called the father. It was a business-like body of men. The delegates were men of convictions and they felt that they had met for a serious purpose, calling upon them to meet a national crisis, in which important history was about to be made.

The applause for the pointed sections of Mr. Hearst's speech came like whipcracks, short and sharp. As he pressed on with the delivery of his denunciation of the two great parties, the delegates followed him, half rose from their seats, and cheered him to the echo when he announced the imperative demand for a third party "that shall purge the channels of justice, drive the money changers from the temple and restore the government of the fathers."

For the rest, this convention was much like other conventions—with decorations galore, inspiring music, cheering songs, daintily gowned women, waving banners, gaily colored fans, etc., but through it all the observation could be made that it was a convention drawn direct from the people. The spacious interior of the Auditorium was gay with decorations of the national colors. Delegates gathered on the ground floor with their respective State and Territorial standards, and above them, extending in horseshoe shape around the hall, and still further above, in the first and second gallery, the spectators assembled. The platform was occupied by members of the National Committee and their wives and invited guests. The Auditorium was completely filled long before the hour had arrived for calling the convention to order, and a large congregation stood in front of the building unable to gain entrance. As the hour for calling the convention approached, the scene within the hall became one of great animation. The entrance of the delegation with their appropriate emblems of the new political effort was most interesting. Practically every State carried a banner on which was inscribed the fitting sentiment, as for instance, Oklahoma, whose banner read:

"A New State, New Ideas; a New Party. We Blaze the Way."  
And Iowa, whose banner read:

"The Iowa Idea. Protect the Farmer and Worker, Not the  
Special Interests."

And Oregon:

"No Chicago Steam Roller and No Denver Stone Crusher To-  
day."

New Jersey: "The Home of the Trusts Wants to Smash 'em."

While the fall of the gavel was awaited the delegates joined in fraternal cheering, Ohio cheering Pennsylvania, New York cheering Illinois, Massachusetts cheering California and Oregon, and Florida ending finally with a tremendous cheer for the new National Independence Party.

#### NATIONAL HYMN BRINGS DELEGATES TO THEIR FEET.

The band played the old-time rallying tunes and fresh enthusiasm was stirred by "Suwanee River," "Old Folks at Home," "Dixie," and at length, "The Star Spangled Banner," which brought forth the first deafening demonstration of the night, the delegates rising and cheering repeatedly the swelling chorus of the national anthem.

#### HEARST CHEERS.

Shortly after 8P. M. William Randolph Hearst entered the hall and was recognized half way down the aisle. The convention was instantly in an uproar. The cheering continued for many minutes, while the recipient of the honor mounted the steps to the platform and shook hands with Secretary Walsh. When he moved back on the main floor to take his seat with the New York delegation one of the old-time demonstrations was let loose. The delegates in single file, bearing aloft their State standard, marched around the hall, their cheers ringing above the music of the lustily playing band. It was many minutes before order could be restored. Mr. Hearst stood at the presiding officer's table for thirteen minutes while the delegates filed before him swinging their hats and flags. Finally he retreated, and some semblance of order was restored. At the end of nineteen minutes the enthusiastic Californians and merry Oklahomians were subdued.



## THE CONVENTION FORMALLY OPENED.

It was thirty-five minutes past the scheduled time when the temporary sergeant-at-arms rapped for order and asked the delegates to vacate the aisles. Ex-Congressman Wilton W. Howard, of Alabama, took the gavel and introduced Charles A. Walsh, of Iowa, secretary of the provisional national committees, who read the call for the convention.

This document declared the purpose of the gathering to be the foundation of an independent party and the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

## HISSES GREET BRYAN'S NAME.

The reading was interrupted by cries of "Hearst!" and one man in the balcony cried "Bryan!" A storm of hisses that followed was stilled by the gavel.

Father P. D. O'Calahan, of Chicago, delivered the invocation.

Mr. Howard, at the conclusion of the invocation, announced the names of the temporary officers of the convention. His mention of the name of Mr. Hearst as temporary chairman was received with an outburst of applause, and Mr. Hearst, when he mounted the rostrum, escorted by a committee of three appointed by the Chair, was enthusiastically welcomed. The band struck up "The Star Spangled Banner" and the convention rose en masse, cheering wildly.

The New York delegation gave repeated cheers in honor of their leader, who stood waiting for the demonstration to subside.

When quiet had been restored Mr. Hearst began to speak. His first sentence was cheered. When he reached that portion of his address in which he paid his respects to Bryan, Taggart, Sullivan, Ryan and other Democratic leaders, he was compelled to stop for another minute and let the applause subside. His characterization of John Sharp Williams as John "Shrimp" Williams provoked a storm of applause and laughter. During the twenty-eight minutes it took the orator to deliver his address he stood on the edge of the platform, his tall figure standing out in bold relief against the background of flags. Whenever he reached a point he desired to emphasize, he leaned forward, extending his hand above his head and swept his eyes slowly over the hall and keyed his voice to penetrate to the topmost gallery. Mr. Hearst mentioned the name of Mr.

Bryan only three times. In the first instance he waited, as though to encourage Mr. Bryan's friends to show their friendship; but there was not a single cheer for the Nebraskan. When the orator had finished, there were shouts of "You're the man we want for our candidate." Mr. Hearst's speech in full was as follows:

#### KEYNOTE OF THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY.

"My friends, this is the first national convention of the Independence Party.

"Whether it shall prove an historical event or merely a passing political incident depends upon the wisdom and patriotism with which we shall deliberate and act.

"If the men who met in Independence Hall in Philadelphia on the Fourth of July, 1776, had had within them the feeling of hesitation, any disposition toward compromise or concession, that day would now pass as any other day upon the calendar.

"But the patriots who assembled there had courage in their hearts, determination in their minds, high purpose in their souls, and the Fourth of July is saluted throughout the world as the birthday of Liberty for all men.

"It is too much to say that our convention can ever reach the importance of the second Continental Congress, but the principles they met to declare we have met to preserve, and the liberties they assembled to secure we have assembled to protect.

"I believe, therefore, that we will do a service to our fellow-citizens second only to the inestimable service rendered by the founders of this Government if we shall found a party which will remain unfailingly faithful to the cause of the plain people, to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and to the fundamental American ideas of liberty, equality and opportunity for all.

#### NEED OF A NEW PARTY.

"I believe that if any party is necessary in this country to preserve the Government as the fathers framed it, a new party is necessary; if any party is necessary to promote progress and prosperity, to encourage the honest business man and protect the honest working-man, a new party is necessary; if any party is necessary to represent the typical American citizens that constitute the people in their strug-

gle with the tyrannical monopolies which constitute the trusts, a new party is necessary.

"In 1792 Thomas Jefferson, who had penned the principles of the Declaration of Independence, founded the Democratic-Republican party to perpetuate those principles.

"In 1840 this party, founded to be the party of the people, had become the party of privilege, and the Democratic party came into being and crystallized about the personality and principles of Andrew Jackson. In 1854 the Democratic Party had become the property of an arrogant aristocracy which denounced the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence as 'self-evident lies.'

"Then the Republican Party was born to restore the action of the Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln led it to victory.

"Is it not time, is there not need for a new party which shall take up the work of the parties of Jefferson, of Jackson and of Lincoln and preserve for us and for the citizens of the future the rights and liberties which these parties in their hour of usefulness preserved for the citizens of their time?

#### DECADENCE OF THE OLD PARTIES.

"The old parties, in this day of their decadence, are no longer equal to this work, for they have become unfaithful to the principles which inspired them and unworthy of the patriots who founded them. The Republican Party is the open and avowed handmaiden of the trusts. It scorns those who would rescue it, repudiates those who would reform it and glories brazenly in its profitable infamy. The Democratic Party is merely envious of its sordid sister's ill-gotten finery. It upbraids her at one election and imitates her at the next.

"The Republican leaders are the political attorneys of trusts and monopolies, the representatives in public life of those giant corporations which have superseded the people in this Republic as the source of power and the seat of authority.

"The Democratic vanguard is a Falstaff's army. It is led by a knight arrayed in a motley of modified professions and compromised principles, of altered opinions and retracted statements. It is officered by such soldiers of fortune as Sullivan and Hopkins and Murphy and McClellan; by Tom Taggart, the roulette gambler; and Tom Ryan,



the Wall Street gambler; and Belmont, the race-track gambler. It is composed of such political mercenaries as Bailey, of the Standard Oil, and Williams, of the Southern Railway, and Hinky-Dink and Bathhouse John and Red Duffy and Nigger Mike—all harmonized at last and all marching together in a rhythmic cadence strongly suggestive of the lockstep. A Falstaff's army whose banner bears on one side a watchword for the people and on the other a password for the trusts, whose only object is office at any cost, whose motto, 'After Us the Deluge.'

"Assuming that Mr. Bryan himself is all that his most ardent admirers claim him to be, a great lawyer, an enlightened statesman, an inspired patriot, still a man is known by the company he keeps, and no decent Democrat can tolerate his free companions. No honest citizen can let down the bars of office to such an Ali Baba's band of boodlers and bravos. No prudent citizen will support a combination to which Taggart supplies a candidate and Parker a platform, for which Ryan will pay the freight and the people will pay the penalty.

"Back of both parties and underwriting each are those Captain Kidds of industry, those highwaymen of high finance, who realize that to plunder safely the people's purse they must first possess the people's government.

#### AN ATTEMPTED BRIBERY.

"When I was running for Governor in New York an emissary of one of the biggest men in Wall Street called upon me and said that his client offered to contribute \$100,000 to my campaign fund and to raise several hundred thousand more if my views were reasonable in regard to honest business.

"I told the emissary that the offer was declined with thanks. I said that the gentlemen making it were merely proposing to waste their good money, for wherever business was honest I would deem it my duty as a public official to promote and encourage it without any hundred-thousand-dollar bribes, and wherever business was dishonest not all the money in Wall Street would influence my attitude toward it.

"I merely mention this incident to show what I believe should be the attitude of any honest candidate and the policy of any honest party.

"No lawyer would serve his client honestly who had received a retaining fee from the opposite side, and no party can honestly represent the citizens where their interests conflict with the exactions of the trusts if it has been contaminated by a corporation campaign fund and subsidized into silence and subserviency.

#### A STAND ON BUSINESS.

"I urge our party to take a broad and liberal stand toward the legitimate business enterprises of the country, but to distinguish between concerns which plunder through political pull and pay for political protection.

"Good wine needs no bush, and honest business needs no bribe.

"Honest business and prosperity are almost synonymous terms. As one develops the other increases; when one is unduly disturbed the other fails.

"Reforms must be made as the country develops and the people progress, but these reforms should be carried out by those in authority without spite or prejudice, without egotism or sensationalism, without a brass band or a big stick.

"Not all who ask to be let alone really want to be let alone.

"The thief may well ask to be let alone in his thievery, but the legitimate business man should ask for all the encouragement that an intelligent business administration can properly provide. It is a fundamental function of government to keep the peace, and to keep the peace it must interfere to prevent fraud and violence and extortion and oppression.

"It is a fundamental function of government to maintain morality, and to maintain morality it must interfere to secure business morality as well as personal morality.

#### A CONSTRUCTIVE PARTY WANTED.

"It is a legitimate and proper function of government to promote conditions that will increase wealth and bring about a just distribution of wealth that will secure increased profits for honest business men and insure a fair division of profits for honest workingmen.

"We all want prosperity, and, what is more, we want prosperity for all.

"I urge our party, therefore, to be intelligently and courageously

constructive, not merely obstructive like the Republican Party or destructive like the Democratic Party.

#### A COMPARISON OF PLATFORMS.

"The Republican platform says nothing and means nothing. It is a platform of statistical inventions and political evasions. It is obviously the product of a party whose sole purpose is to stand pat and whose sole desire is to stay pat.

"The Democratic platform contains some good and original things, but, as has been said, the original things are not good and the good things are not original. It was built by political jackdaws, who feathered their nests with the plumes of others without understanding of their significance or intention as to their performance. It is the habitation of a hermit crab which has no shell of its own and invades the first convenient one without regard to property or propriety.

"It is a platform, too, of reconciliation and retraction, of atonement and apology, of harmony and hypocrisy, for in compliance with a former compact, Parker has pronounced peace, Bill Bailey has poured Standard Oil upon the troubled waters and Bryan has killed not only the fatted calf but the goose that laid the golden egg.

"No man can serve two masters, and no man can conciliate the conflicting elements of the Democratic Party. He who tries must serve one and deceive the other, must make public pretense to the people and private compact with the trusts.

"Our party is not a party of factions, or sections, or cliques, or classes. We have no warring wings to pacify, no contradictory declarations to modify, no corrupt bosses to satisfy. Let us act boldly and speak plainly. Let us make a platform so clear and so sincere that every citizen will understand our position and have confidence in our intention. Let us nominate candidates from among the many men here present, whose lives and deeds are a guarantee of the genuineness of their attitude—a pledge of the sincerity of our professions. Then let us go forth to an honorable effort for a righteous cause, to battle and to victory."

Mr. Hearst delivered his address with intense earnestness that carried the convention with him from the start to the close of his address. At its conclusion he was cheered for several minutes.



Following Mr. Hearst's speech, James H. O'Neil, of Rhode Island, presented to the temporary chairman a "union label" gavel. Another gavel was presented by J. D. Bush, of New York. While the latter was speaking, a delegate in the rear called, "Has that gavel got the label on it?"

Mr. Hearst made a brief speech of acceptance of the two gavels.

Reuben R. Lyon, of New York, was called to the chair and directed the secretary to read the membership lists of the various convention committees and it was announced that all the committees would meet immediately after the adjournment. There were no contests for seats, and the business before all the committees, with the exception of that on resolutions, was expected to be largely of a perfunctory character.

After an address by C. A. Windle, of Chicago, the first session of the convention adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M. the next day, July 28th.

## SECOND DAY OF THE CONVENTION.

### PLATFORM ADOPTED. HISGIN AND GRAVES NOMINATED.

When the second day's session of the Independence Party convention began, Reuben R. Lyon, of New York, occupied the chair, Mr. Hearst having resigned that honor.

The Rev. Dr. A. J. Messing, of Chicago, invoked the divine blessing on the convention. In his prayer Dr. Messing mentioned the fight of the Independence Party against the untrustworthy corporations and prayed that the movement would grow in strength until evil systems of government were destroyed.

### CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE MAKES ITS REPORT.

The first order of business was the report of the Committee on Credentials. No contests were filed except in the Fourteenth District of Massachusetts, and in this case the contestant was seated. The committee's report was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business was called for. These permanent convention officers were selected:

Chairman, Charles A. Walsh, of Iowa; secretary, William A.

Deford, of Kansas; assistant secretaries, A. S. Miller, of Alabama, Edward Rainey, of California; sergeants-at-arms, A. O. Kruger, of California, Andrew Goven, of New York, and Frank Brush, of Illinois.

The report also declared in favor of the adoption of the two-thirds vote for all nominations. Seconding speeches were limited to five minutes each, but no limit was placed on their total number.

Chairman Walsh was escorted to the platform by delegates Clapp, of Georgia; Palliser, of New York, and Knight, of Washington.

He was given an enthusiastic reception.

Chairman Walsh, in his speech, held up to the convention the principles which caused the abandonment of the old parties. His speech was received with great appreciation and frequently punctuated with applause.

#### SPEECH OF CHARLES A. WALSH OUTLINING THE PURPOSES OF THE NEW INDEPENDENCE PARTY.

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: For the high honor conferred upon me in being made the permanent chairman of this momentous gathering, it is my hope to show my gratitude through untiring zeal for the cause to which we give nation-wide expression to-day.

"We are at the threshold of a new era in the history of our beloved country.

"We have reached the parting of the ways with our former political associations. In the long years that have brought many of us, scarred and whitened, down to the irrevocable step which we are about to take, we have followed with all the zeal, all the loyalty, all the honesty and energy which possessed us, either the one or the other of the old party standards, glorying in their victories, unflinchingly facing their defeats—watching with sadness the rise of unworthy leaders, the upraising of new idols, the slow but steady wasting away of the vigor which made the old parties the useful engines of our political activities.

"We have fought valiantly and hoped ardently for a return to the old pathways—for a re-infusion of the old spirit, but the years have rolled by and brought with them naught but black despair, until, in the desperation that is born of a love of country transcending

all bonds of party fealty, we have taken the step that brings us together to-day united in a heaven-blessed cause.

#### REASON FOR DESERTING THE OLD PARTIES.

"The path of duty lies straight and well defined before us. We cannot neglect to follow it and retain our self-respect. We have seen the once great Republican Party—the party founded by Lincoln—turned into a vast commercial enterprise for the aggrandizement of the money power.

"The party of trusts, it has become the greatest of all the trusts itself, with the national House of Representatives as its directorate and the United States Senate as its executive committee.

"We have seen it construct a tariff wall around those interests in which the Havemeyers and their kind have been most concerned, and the interests of the plain people have been shunted aside—all legislation, financial, remedial, industrial, skilfully contrived to benefit the men who from the banking houses of Wall Street absolutely controlled its destinies.

"Labor has been slighted, the farmer uncared for, the interests of the people generally neglected, the traditions of the fathers trodden under foot, and the old landmarks and sign posts torn down and uprooted in the mad riot of greed and self-interest which have become the dominant creed of the party.

"We have seen the once great Democratic Party turned into a wing or annex of this party of trusts—its traditions mocked, its creed ignored, its principles violated ruthlessly, its old leaders turned out at the back door, while the front door was flung wide open for the entrance of the Ryans and the Belmonts, who are to-day most potent in the council halls where once sat a Jefferson, a Jackson and a Tilden.

"We have seen the Rockefellers and the Morgans, the Ryans and the Belmonts, the Hills and the Harrimans—dominating forces of the two old parties, the bi-partisan board of the amalgamated political parties, for revenue only—breaking bread and drinking wine together across the same board. And then what?

#### A NEW LEADER ARISES.

"When, after the constant and heroic proclaiming of the new declaration of independence heralded across the land by your tempo-



rary chairman, William Randolph Hearst—when, after Mr. Hearst had blazed in letters of fire the new doctrine of reform, and the people had heard and lifted up their voices in a mighty demand—a cry that reached finally, even to the banquet hall where the Belshazzar's feast of the plutocratic bosses was in progress—those political bacchanalians, reading at last the handwriting on the wall, seized upon the fundamental truths which Mr. Hearst had voiced, and behold—in diluted form and macerated fashion, they now present them as their own and once more bid the people follow in the wake of their chariot wheels.

"The time for that has gone by. For the last time the people have been tricked. The hour has struck and the people themselves are in command. The awakening is betokened by our presence in this hall to-day.

"They revile us, joke and laugh scornfully. They say we have gone astray in pursuit of false gods and have departed from our faith. I say we have not. It is we who have stood steadfast. We have not retreated, men of the old parties, it is you who have fallen behind.

"'Come on! Come on!' we say, 'to the capture of the redoubt of special privilege and self-interest. Join your forces with ours, that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.'"

#### GETTING DOWN TO BUSINESS.

Succeeding Chairman Walsh's speech the regular order of business was taken up. The Committee on Platform was not quite ready to report. The names of the new National Committeemen were announced.

When Massachusetts was reached and the name of Thomas Hisgen was called, there was a great demonstration, with hearty cheers, which came from all parts of the hall.

While awaiting the report George W. McCaskrin, who was introduced as the "next Governor of Illinois," addressed the convention. Other stirring addresses followed by various speakers.

#### JOSEPH R. BUCHANAN SPEAKS ON LABOR.

Joseph R. Buchanan, of New Jersey, was called to the stage to explain the attitude of labor toward the Independenne Party. He

said he believed this attitude to be favorable, for the men who have for years been interested in organized labor have realized the futility of expecting any relief from unjust conditions.

Referring to the commitment of the labor leaders to the Democratic Party, Mr. Buchanan said that the rank and file of workingmen are not going to be fooled by the old tricksters who for years have been fooling them.

E. T. O'Loughlin, of Brooklyn, stirred the convention by an appeal in favor of the white slaves of field and factory, and Wilkinson, of New York, recited an ode on independence.

William Johnson, a negro delegate from Chicago, took the platform and in a spirited address recited the demands of his race to such effect that the convention rose almost to a man and tendered the black man an ovation. Among other things he said: "You should encourage the black man to come into the fold. He is drifting away from the old parties."

#### ADOPTED AMID CHEERS.

The committee, with the typewritten copy of the party's first platform, entered at 5.20 P. M. Dr. Taylor, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, presented it, and Clarence J. Shearn, of New York, read it with splendid effect, after which came a most remarkable demonstration.

In the history of all the political conventions of the United States, no party platform was ever received so enthusiastically as the twenty-hour effort of the first Committee on Resolutions of the new Independence Party. For twenty minutes the delegates cheered and rounded the hall with their standards.

There were not the vacant seats that usually mark the delegates' section of the convention hall when the platform is to be read. Nearly every delegate was in his place, and vitally interested in every word that fell from the lips of the reader. Almost every plank was cheered as it was read. The platform was adopted unanimously, and the convention took a recess until 8 o'clock P. M.

#### NIGHT SESSION.

At the night session the convention quickly got down to nominations for President. Dr. L. A. Fearley, of Alabama, took the ros-

trum and placed in nomination Mulford W. Howard, of that State. The resumption of the call brought no response till California yielded to Massachusetts, and the Rev. Roland D. Sawyer placed Thomas L. Hisgen in nomination. When Mr. Sawyer eulogized Mr. Hisgen as a man "who has tasted in his soul the oppression of predatory wealth and fought it back tooth and nail, asking no quarter and giving none—a man who stands for everything John D. Rockefeller does not," the delegates yelled their delight and shouted frantically. "That's right, soak Standard Oil John!" And when Mr. Sawyer formally placed the Bay State man in nomination there was a tempest of cheers. (The speech nominating Mr. Hisgen will be found in the biography of the candidate.) Ladies in the balcony, among whom was the wife of Mr. Hisgen, urged the men to greater efforts. A banner bearing Hisgen's portrait was brought to the platform and was joined by the California, Minnesota, Illinois, Washington and Nebraska standards. When the demonstration subsided the call proceeded until Georgia was reached, and Bernard Sutler, of Atlanta, presented the name of John Temple Graves.

Mr. Sutler made a snappy speech, which set the convention hall ringing with cheers. New Jersey, Wisconsin, Connecticut and Virginia joined Georgia in the cheering.

#### BRYAN'S NAME CAUSES ROW.

The roll call progressed until Kansas was reached. J. I. Sheppard asked if it was possible to vote for any candidate not a member of the party. The reply was that the question had not yet arisen. Mr. Sheppard took the platform, announcing that he had a candidate. He made quite a lengthy speech before the delegates understood whom he meant to nominate. Finally he mentioned the "candidate of the Democratic Party." A storm of hisses and boos greeted him.

The hall was in an uproar, the galleries persisting in breaking in with jeers. Mr. Sheppard spoke a few minutes when Charles H. Mitchell, of Illinois, offered a point of order that it was evident that the speaker was about to place in nomination a man who was not a member of the Independence Party. He demanded that the convention proceed to name a candidate of its own.

Several delegates attempted to mount the rostrum to do physical violence to the speaker. Sergeants-at-arms held back the infuriated men by sheer physical strength.



Mr. Mitchell persisted in his point of order, and Mr. Sheppard said:

"Of course I don't want to deceive you. I intend, if I am allowed to finish, to nominate William J. Bryan."

The hall broke into an uproar. A dozen delegates again struggled in the main aisle to reach Mr. Sheppard. Canes and fists were shaken while howls of execration went up from all sides.

Quiet was a long time coming, but finally Chairman Walsh was able to rule. He declared the nomination of a man who was not a member of the Independence Party was out of order.

A frantic yell of approval went up. Sheppard started to leave the platform, and Sergeants-at-Arms Frank Brust and Max Annenberg, realizing what might happen to Sheppard, kept close behind him.

A crowd of delegates closed in, and, for a minute or two, Sheppard was in actual danger.

#### NOMINATIONS RESUMED.

Quiet was restored with the ejection of Sheppard and nominating speeches were resumed.

Judge Waterbury, of Kansas, took the platform to "put my State right." He denied Mr. Sheppard acted with the knowledge of the delegation, the denunciation of Sheppard bringing cheers. It was later announced that J. I. Sheppard had been withdrawn from the National Committee of the party and would be no longer active in its affairs. The exciting Sheppard affair was the only disturbing evidence of the convention. Judge Waterbury, who had set "Kansas right," was put in Sheppard's place on the National Committee.

Maryland and Michigan seconded Graves and California, Minnesota and Montana declared for Hisgen. Mississippi and Missouri added their indorsement to Howard.

New York sent to the rostrum Judge John Palmire, who placed Reuben R. Lyon, of that State, in nomination. John T. Martin, also of New York, seconded the nomination of Graves.

When Ohio was called, the name of William Randolph Hearst was mentioned as a candidate for the first time by A. F. Otto, of Cincinnati, from the floor, declaring Ohio would cast her solid vote for Mr. Hearst.

Only a ripple of applause followed the speech of Mr. Otto, it



THOMAS L. HISGEN

Independence Party Candidate for President.



JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Independence Party Candidate for Vice-President.

THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY CANDIDATES, 1908.



WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST  
Founder of the Independence Party.



being generally understood that Mr. Hearst did not desire the nomination.

Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah and Vermont seconded Hisgen, and South Carolina and Virginia seconded Graves.

West Virginia's call brought a resignation from the convention, two delegates leaving because they were not satisfied with the platform.

Washington and Wyoming seconded Hisgen and the District of Columbia Graves. Then the convention proceeded to ballot.

#### HISGIN AND GRAVES THE TICKET.

The vote for President on the first ballot resulted: Hisgen, 396; Graves, 213; Howard, 200; Lyon, 71; Hearst, 49. On the second ballot Hisgen received 590 votes; Graves dropped to 180, and Howard to 109. Hearst held his 49, and Lyon was eliminated.

When order had been partly restored a committee, consisting of John Temple Graves, of Georgia; Milford W. Howard, of Alabama, and Reuben R. Lyon, of New York, was appointed to notify Mr. Hisgen of his nomination and escort him to the platform.

Pending the return of the committee, Clarence J. Shearn, of New York, was recognized by the chair and placed John Temple Graves in nomination for the Vice-Presidency.

In his speech Mr. Hearn said in part:

"I have a most pleasant duty to perform. We need to complement the nomination we have just made—a man who can carry our principles to all parts of the country. I have in mind such a man.

"From what we know of his loyalty, his fealty and his devotion to the Independence Party, I know he will accept the unanimous call of this convention to join with 'Honest Tom' Hisgen. I nominate Colonel John Temple Graves."

The mention of Mr. Graves's name was greeted with a yell of approval.

E. G. Ballard, of Indiana, placed Charles F. S. Neal, of Indiana, in nomination. Stephen Charters, of Ansonia, was placed in nomination by John Kelly, of Connecticut. C. A. Wendle, of Illinois, named Dr. Howard Taylor, of Illinois. Dr. Taylor withdrew his name. Connecticut withdrew the name of Charters and moved to suspend the rules and make Graves's nomination unanimous. This was done by acclamation and the convention adjourned sine die.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY PLATFORM.

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ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JULY 28, 1908.

We, the Independent American citizens, representing the Independence Party in forty-four States and two Territories, have met in national convention to nominate, absolutely independent of all political parties, candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Our action is based upon a determination to wrest the conduct of public affairs from the hands of selfish interests, political tricksters and corrupt bosses, and make the government, as the founders intended, an agency for the common good.

At a period of unexampled national prosperity and promise a staggering blow was dealt to legitimate business by the unmolested practice of stock watering and dishonest financiering. Multitudes of defenseless investors, thousands of honest business men and an army of idle workingmen are paying the penalty.

Year by year, fostered by wasteful and reckless governmental extravagance, by the manipulation of trusts and by a privilege-creating tariff, the cost of living mounts higher and higher. Day by day the control of the Government drifts further away from the people and more firmly into the grip of machine politicians and party bosses.

The Republican and Democratic parties are not only responsible for these conditions, but are committed to their indefinite continuance. Prodigious of promises, they are so barren of performance that to a new party of independent voters the country must look for the establishment of a new policy and a return to genuine popular government.

#### TO RESTORE NATION'S PRINCIPLES.

Our object is not to introduce violent innovations or startling new theories. We, of the Independence Party, look back, as Lin-

coln did, to the Declaration of Independence as the fountainhead of all political inspiration.

It is not our purpose to attempt to revolutionize the American system of government, but to restore the action of the government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln.

It is not our purpose, either, to effect a radical change in the American system of government, but to conserve for the citizens of the United States their privileges and liberties won for them by the founders of this Government, and to perpetuate the principles and policies upon which the nation's greatness has been built.

The Independence Party is, therefore, a conservative force in American politics, devoted to the preservation of American liberty and independence and to honesty in elections, to opportunity in business and to equality before the law. Those who believe in the Independence Party and work with it are convinced that a genuine democracy should exist, that a true republican form of government should continue, that the power of government should rest with the majority of the people, and that the government should be conducted for the benefit of the whole citizenship rather than for the special advantages of any particular class.

#### FOR DIRECT NOMINATIONS.

As of first importance in order to restore the power of government to the people, to make their will supreme in the primaries, in the elections and in control of public officials after they have been elected, we declare for direct nominations, the initiative and referendum and the right to recall.

It is idle to cry out against the evil of bossism while we perpetuate a system under which the boss is inevitable. The destruction of an individual boss is of little value.

The people in their politics must establish a system which will eliminate not only an objectionable boss, but the system of bossism.

Representative government is made a mockery by the system of modern party conventions dominated by bosses and controlled by cliques.

We demand the natural remedy of direct nominations by which the people not only elect, but, which is far more important, select their representatives.



We believe in the principles of initiative and referendum. We particularly demand that no franchise grab go into operation until terms and conditions have been approved by popular vote in the locality interested.

We demand for the people the right to recall public officials in the public service. The power to make public officials resides in the people, and in them also should reside the power to make and remove from office any official who demonstrates his unfitness or betrays the public trust.

#### MONEY IN CAMPAIGNS.

Of next importance in destroying the power of selfish special interests and the corrupt political bosses whom they control is to wrest from their hands their main weapon, the corruption fund. We demand severe and effective legislation against all forms of corrupt practices at elections and advocate prohibiting the use of any money at elections except for meetings, literature and the necessary traveling expenses of candidates. Bidding for votes, the Republican and Democratic candidates are making an outcry about publicity of contributions, although the Republican and Democratic parties have for years consistently blocked every effort to pass a corrupt practices act. Publicity of contributions is desirable and should be required, but the main matter of importance is the use to which contributions are put.

We believe that the dishonest use of money in the past, whether contributed by individuals or by corporations, has been chiefly responsible for the corruption which has undermined our system of popular government.

We demand honest conduct of public officers and businesslike, economical administration of public affairs, and we condemn the gross extravagance of the Federal Administration and its appalling annual increase in appropriations. Unnecessary appropriations mean unnecessary taxes, and unnecessary taxes, whether direct or indirect, are paid by the people and add to the increasing cost of living.

We condemn the evil of overcapitalization. Modern industrial conditions make the corporation and stock company a necessity, but overcapitalization in corporations is as harmful and criminal as is personal dishonesty in an individual. Compelling the payment of dividends upon great sums that have never been invested, upon masses

of watered stock not justified by the property and overcapitalization prevent the better wages, the better public service and the lower cost that should result from American inventive genius and that wide organization which is replacing costly individual competition. The collapse of dishonestly inflated enterprises robs investors, closes banks, destroys confidence and engenders panics.

#### LABOR PLANK BUNCOMBE.

The Independence Party advocates as a primary necessity for sounder business conditions and improved public service the enactment of laws, State and national, to prevent watering of stock, dishonest issues of bonds and other forms of corporate frauds.

We denounce the so-called labor planks of the Republican and Democratic platforms as political buncombe and contemptible claptrap unworthy of national parties claiming to be serious and sincere.

The Republican declaration that "no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay," is empty verbiage, for a showing of irreparable injury can always be made and is always made in *ex parte* affidavits.

The Democratic declaration that "injunctions should not be issued in any case in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved" is meaningless and worthless.

Such insincere and meaningless declarations place a low estimate upon the intelligence of the average American workingman and exhibit either ignorance of or indifference to the real interests of labor.

The Independence Party condemns the arbitrary use of the writ of injunction and contempt proceedings as a violation of the fundamental American right of trial by jury.

#### DEMANDS JURY TRIAL.

From the foundation of our Government down to 1872 the Federal Judiciary act prohibited the issue of any injunction without reasonable notice until after a hearing. We assert that in all actions growing out of a dispute between employers and employees concerning terms or conditions of employment no injunction should issue until after a trial upon the merits, that such trial should be had before a jury, and that in no case of alleged contempt should any person be deprived of liberty without a trial by jury.

The Independence Party believes that the distribution of wealth is as important as the creation of wealth, and indorses those organizations among farmers and others which tend to bring about a just distribution of wealth through good wages for workers and good prices for farmers and which protect the employer and the consumer through equality of price for labor and for product.

We indorse the eight-hour day, favor its application to all Government employees and demand the enactment of laws requiring that all work done for the Government, whether Federal or State, and whether done directly or indirectly through contractors or sub-contractors, shall be done on an eight-hour basis.

We offer the enactment of a law condemning as illegal any combination or conspiracy to blacklist employees.

We demand protection for workmen through enforced use of standard safety appliances and provisions of hygienic conditions in the operation of factories, railways, mills, mines and all industrial undertakings.

#### AGAINST CHILD LABOR.

We advocate State and Federal inspection of railways to secure a greater safety for railway employees and for the traveling public.

We call for the enactment of stringent laws fixing employers' liabilities and a rigid prohibition of child labor through co-operation between the State Governments and the National Government.

We condemn the manufacture and sale of prison-made goods in the open market in competition with free-labor manufactured goods. We demand that convicts be employed directly by the different States in the manufacture of products for use in State institutions, and in making good roads, and in no case shall convicts be hired out to contractors or sub-contractors.

We favor a creation of a Department of Labor, including mines and mining, the head of which shall be a member of the President's cabinet.

The great abuses of grain inspection, by which the producers are plundered, demand immediate and vigorous correction. To that end we favor Federal inspection under a strict Civil Service law.

We declare that the right to issue money is inherent in the Government and demand that any further necessary issue of currency



shall be made by the Government and shall be full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

#### FOR TARIFF REVISION.

We demand a revision of the tariff, not by the friends of the tariff, but by the friends of the people, and declare for a gradual reduction of tariff duties with just consideration for the rights of the consuming public and of established industry. There should be no protection for oppressive trusts which sell cheaply abroad and take advantage of the tariff at home to crush competition, raise prices, control production and limit work and wages.

The railroads must be kept open to all upon exactly equal terms. Every form of rebate and discrimination and railroad rates is a crime against business and must be stamped out. We demand adequate railroad facilities and advocate a bill empowering shippers in time of need to compel railroads to provide sufficient cars for freight and passenger traffic and other railroad facilities through summary appeal to the courts.

We favor the creation of an interstate commerce court, whose sole function it shall be to review speedily and enforce summarily the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Interstate Commerce Commission should have the power to initiate investigation into the reasonableness of rates and practices, and no increase in rates should be put into effect until opportunity for such investigation is afforded. The Interstate Commerce Commission should proceed at once with a physical valuation of railroads engaged in interstate commerce.

#### URGES STRONG ANTI-TRUST LAW.

We denounce all combinations for restraint of trade and for the establishment of monopoly in all products of labor, and declare that such combinations are not combinations for production, but for extortion, and that activity in this direction is not industry, but robbery.

In case of infractions of the Anti-Trust law or Interstate Commerce act we believe in the enforcement of a prison penalty against the guilty and responsible individuals controlling the management of the offending corporations, rather than a fine imposed upon stockholders.

We advocate the extension of the principle of public ownership for public utilities, including railroads, as rapidly as municipal, State or National Government shall demonstrate ability to conduct public utilities for the public benefit. We favor specifically government ownership of the telegraphs, such as prevails in every other civilized country in the world, and demand as an immediate measure that the Government shall purchase and operate the telegraphs in connection with the postal service.

#### PARCELS POST SYSTEM.

The parcels post system should be rapidly and widely extended, and Government postal savings banks should be established where people's deposits will be secure, the money to be loaned to the people in the locality of the several banks and at a rate of interest to be fixed by the Government.

We favor the immediate development of a national system of good roads connecting all States and national aid to States in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

We favor a court review of the censorship and arbitrary rulings of the Post Office Department.

We advocate such legislation, both State and national, as will suppress the bucketshop and prohibit the fictitious selling of farm products for future delivery.

We favor the creation of a Department of Public Health to be presided over by a member of the medical profession, this department to exercise authority over matters of public health, hygiene and sanitation which come properly within the jurisdiction of the National Government and do not interfere with the rights of States or municipalities.

#### OPPOSES ASIATIC IMMIGRATION.

We oppose Asiatic immigration, which does not amalgamate with our population, creates race issues and un-American conditions and which reduces wages and tends to lower the high standard of living and the high standard of morality which American civilization has established. We demand the passage of an exclusion act which shall protect American workingmen from competition with Asiatic cheap labor and which shall protect American civilization from the contamination of Asiatic conditions.

The Independence Party declares for peace and against aggression, and will promote the movement for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

We believe, however, that a small navy is poor economy, and that a strong navy is the best protection in time of war and the best preventive of war. We, therefore, favor the speedy building of a navy sufficiently strong to protect at the same time both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States.

We favor the development of the merchant marine by the building and operating of such lines of ships as may be necessary by the Government.

We rejoice in the adoption by both the Democratic and Republican platforms of the demand of the Independence Party for the improved national waterways and the Mississippi inland deep waterways project to complete a ship canal from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. We favor the extension of this system to the tributaries of the Mississippi, by means of which thirty States shall be served and twenty thousand miles added to the coast line of the United States.

The reclamation of arid lands should be continued and the irrigation commission now contemplated by the Government extended and steps taken for the conservation of the country's natural resources, which should be guarded not only against devastation and waste, but against falling into the control of monopoly.

#### PROTECTION OF PUBLIC LANDS.

The abuses growing out of the administration of our forest preserves must be corrected and provision should be made for free grazing from public lands outside of forest or other reservation. In behalf of the people residing in arid portions of our Western States we protest vigorously against the policy of the Federal Government in selling the exclusive use of water and electric powers derived from public works to private corporations, thus creating a monopoly and subjecting citizens living in these sections to exorbitant charges for light and power and diverting enterprises originally started for public benefit into channels for corporate greed and oppression, and we demand that no more exclusive contracts be made.

American citizens abroad, whether native born or naturalized, and of whatever race or creed, must be secured in the enforcement



of all rights and privileges under our treaties, and wherever such rights are withheld by any country on the ground of race or religious faith, steps should be taken to secure the removal of such unjust discrimination.

#### POPULAR ELECTION PLANK.

We advocate the popular election of United States Senators and of judges, both State and Federal, and favor a graduated income tax and any constitutional amendments necessary to these ends.

Equality and opportunity, the largest measure of individual liberty consistent with equal rights, the overthrow of the rule of special interest and the restoration of government by the majority exercised for the benefit of the whole community—these are the purposes to which the Independence Party is pledged, and we invite the co-operation of all patriotic and all progressive citizens, irrespective of party, who are in sympathy with these principles and in favor of their practical enforcement.”

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### NATIONAL LEADERS OF THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY.

#### WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST THE FOUNDER.

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The largest individual newspaper proprietor perhaps that the world has ever known—by this we mean the one man who controls the largest number of papers and has the largest united circulation ever under one open management in this or any other country—is Mr. William Randolph Hearst, proprietor of the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Chicago American and Examiner*, the *New York Journal and Examiner* and the *Boston Journal and Examiner*.

For many years Mr. Hearst has been a prominent national figure. In 1896 and in 1900 he was an ardent supporter of William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic nominee, and with his powerful journals he has exercised an enormous influence in reform movements in the Democratic party. He has claimed at all times to be a champion and friend of the laboring man. His remarkable success in the newspaper world has aroused the jealousy of competitive journals wherever his paper is circulated, and the press generally has not hesitated to class him as the arch-leader of the so-called Yellow Journalists of America. In 1904 Hearst was prominently mentioned as a Democratic candidate for President, and went before the National Convention of the party at St. Louis with a formidable following. The nomination of Judge Alton D. Parker, of New York, did much to dampen Mr. Hearst's ardor for the Democratic cause, and from that day forward he and his papers gradually drifted away from the party moorings. In Chicago and New York he inaugurated and championed what he called the Independence Voters' League, with which, through his paper, he seriously discomfited both the Democratic and Republican parties in the municipal elections of both of those cities. In New York he ran for Mayor of the City on his Independence Voters' League Platform. The race between him and George B. McClellan,

the Democratic candidate, was so close that both parties claimed the victory. The official count gave McClellan the office, but Hearst maintained, through his journals, that he had been elected and was counted out by fraud. By persistent agitation of the subject in his paper he forced an investigation in 1908. The recount, while it showed a gain in Mr. Hearst's favor, did not give him sufficient votes to reverse the result that made McClellan Mayor.

In his campaign for Governor of New York in 1906 he very nearly carried the State under similar conditions and in Massachusetts his Independence League won second place, making the Democrats a third party. In view of the above remarkable achievements, it is no idle fancy to suppose that the party of Hearst will have a large support in the campaign of 1908.

Mr. Hearst returned from Europe only a few days before the meeting of the National Independence Party convention in Chicago. He hurried at once to the convention and was made temporary chairman of it, and in a thrilling speech sounded the keynote of his party. He was afterwards made chairman of the National Committee, and appointing two able lieutenants to attend to the details, he at once prepared to tour the country in the interest of his party candidates, Messrs. Hisgen and Graves.

Mr. Hearst is a man in the prime of life. He is the son of the late United States Senator, George Hearst, of California. He was born in San Francisco, in 1863, was educated in the public schools of that city and Harvard University. He was married in New York, April 28, 1903, to Miss Millicent Willson. Mr. Hearst is editor and proprietor of the San Francisco *Examiner*, which he has controlled since 1886. He founded the New York *Journal*, in 1895. He later bought the New York *Advertiser*, and changed its name to the New York *Morning American*. It was to the editorship of that paper that John Temple Graves, the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Independence Party, was called in 1907. In 1900 Mr. Hearst started the Chicago *American* and two years later the Chicago *Morning Examiner*. In 1904 he started both the Boston *American* and the Los Angeles, California, *Examiner*.

Prior to the inauguration of his new party, Mr. Hearst was a Democrat. By that party he was elected to the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth Congress from the Eleventh District of New York.



## INDEPENDENCE PARTY CANDIDATES.

BY WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST.

In answer to a request for an expression of an opinion concerning the candidates of the party which he had founded, Mr. Hearst said:

"I feel confident that the candidates of the Independence Party are able, honest representative American men, admirably adapted to the platform, and I am positive that the platform is one of the most inspiring documents ever issued in American politics.

"Mr. Hisgen is a clean, strong, sound and sensible business man, who has acquired his property by methods so honorable that he is universally known as 'Honest Tom Hisgen.' This title, acknowledged even by his opponents, is the highest testimonial to his character, and the fact that he has conducted his business successfully in competition with the Standard Oil, the most powerful and most unscrupulous monopoly in the world, is the highest testimonial to his ability and independence. Mr. Hisgen is the kind of man that you respect the moment that you see him, that you admire as you come to know him, and that you love and honor when acquaintance has ripened into friendship. Therefore the more men there are who know Mr. Hisgen the more men there are who will vote for him and work for him with both the enthusiasm born of personal devotion and the knowledge that they are performing a patriotic duty.

"Mr. John Temple Graves is a man of the same splendid honesty and ability and independence as Mr. Hisgen, although he has exercised these admirable qualities in a different sphere of usefulness. Mr. Graves has been editor and part proprietor of many publications of great importance and wide influence, and he has exerted that influence persistently and potentially in sincere service to his fellow-men. No wrong has escaped the attack, no right has failed of the support of his powerful pen.

"He is a masterful writer, a marvelous orator; a man of unusual talents and unusually conscientious in the employment of those talents. He is a true Southern gentleman, than which there is no higher praise. He is typical of the South's best traditions, representative of its noblest qualities. There is no better or better-known Southern man in public life. He is not only the embodiment of honor himself, but he has

always declined to associate himself with any cause or institution that is not equally honorable.

"A few years ago he was editor-in-chief and minority stockholder of one of the leading newspapers in the South. His place was important and profitable, but when the majority stockholders insisted that the paper support some questionable scheme of the Southern Railway, Mr. Graves relinquished his lucrative position, abandoned his stockholdings, and indignantly left the paper; nor was he satisfied with mere ineffective protest. He promptly started another newspaper, rallied the people around him, defeated the Southern Railway's iniquitous scheme, and by his words and his actions so discredited the traitorous paper he had left that it closed its doors disgraced and went out of business. The people have need of such men in public life. The people have need of such business men, successful men, able, honest and loyal men, and I believe the people have the gratitude and the good judgment to elect such men to serve them.

"On the other tickets we have the eternal and inevitable lawyers. One is a political lawyer and the other is a lawyer politician. One is a lawyer whose specialty is injunctions, and the other is a lawyer whose specialty is wills and legacies.

"One is representative of the great trusts and monopolies and privilege-seeking interests. The other is representative of a complacent selfishness and sordid self-interest equally monumental and menacing.

"The candidates of the Independence Party are typical American citizens, really representative of the honest business, the productive industry that has made the country.

"It is a personal sacrifice for both of them to go into politics, but they think it is their duty, and I think it is the duty of all such conscientious and characteristic Americans to take an active interest in the conduct of their Government. The presence of such men in public life will do more than anything else to purify American politics and perpetuate this American republic."

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#### THOMAS L. HISGEN, CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

In addition to Mr. Hearst's estimates as above set forth it is proper to give additional personal items of the candidates' lives.

Thomas L. Hisgen was born in Petersburg, Ind., November

26, 1858. His present home is in West Springfield, Mass. He is wealthy and has devoted much of his time to fighting the Oil Trust, and he has done it successfully. He occupies in New England a position similar to that of Lewis Emery, Jr., in Pennsylvania, having been a consistent and bitter opponent to the Standard Oil Company.

Mr. Hisgen is a self-made man. He was born of poor parents and has amassed his own fortune honestly. He began work early and did not enjoy extensive educational advantages. At the age of sixteen he became a clerk in an Albany clothing store. His father had experimented with a formula for the manufacture of axle grease, but could not make it a commercial success, whereupon his sons established a small factory and manufactured the grease for sale.

The business is now large and successful, and it is said that the Standard Oil Company once offered \$600,000 for the plant, but the Hisgens would not sell. Then followed a bitter fight with the Standard Oil Company, which forced the Hisgens into the oil business themselves, as the people who bought their axle grease had difficulty in buying kerosene.

The story of this heroic fight and the victory of the Hisgen brothers over the Standard Oil has been widely published in the press during the last few years.

For years Mr. Hisgen has fought the Oil Trust, which, by all methods at its command, tried to drive him from the field. He won the respect and support of consumers in Western Massachusetts, and is one of the few men who has waged war successfully against the great corporation.

He declined to be owned, bought, bullied or frightened. He has conducted his business persistently in his own way, defying trust orders, as every independent American aspires to do. He is making money in his business, in his own way, as his own boss, and Standard Oil has been unable to crush him or to rule him. He has the respect of every man because he has succeeded in the real American style of live and let live. His employees are his friends, and his neighbors in business—the dominating trusts excepted—are also his friends. He has known how to protect and maintain his own interests, and that in spite of the direct and persistent attack of the most powerful trust in the world.

Before his alliance with the Independence League Mr. Hisgen



was a Democrat, and ran once for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts on the Democratic ticket. He got into politics because the Standard Oil Company undertook to drive him out of business. In 1906 he polled 150,000 votes as a joint candidate of the Democrats and Independence League for State Auditor, and his fight with the octopus led to his nomination for Governor in 1907 by the Independence League. He polled more votes than the regular Democratic nominee in this contest.

Mr. Hisgen is not by nature a politician. He is a splendid type of the upright successful business man. His business interests and desire for honest methods and fair competition forced him into a fight which he conducted so manfully and above board that the country looked on with admiration, and dubbed him "Honest Tom" Hisgen, and in consequence forced political honors upon him. He has proved himself a campaigner of ability. He is a forceful speaker. In the race for Governor he made a personal canvass of the State, and his clear-cut arguments were rewarded by a vote of 6,000 in excess of Mr. Whitney, his Democratic rival. This greatly increased Hisgen's popularity, and made him the logical candidate for the first Presidential nomination of his party.

#### REV. ROLAND S. SAWYER'S EULOGY.

We cannot better close this article than by quoting the speech of Rev. Mr. Sawyer, placing Mr. Hisgen in nomination at Chicago. After paying his respects (?) to Mr. Rockefeller and commenting on the \$29,000,000 fine, and Hisgen's part in exposing the unlawful methods of the Standard Oil Company, Mr. Sawyer said of Mr. Hisgen personally:

"I present the name of a man, a man who has tasted in his own soul of the oppressions of predatory wealth, and in his own experience has fought them back tooth and nail, asking no quarter and giving none—a man standing for everything that John D. Rockefeller does not.

"So, because it is fitting that when the people are striking at Standard Oil, as representative of the whole line of robber trusts, we should offer them as a candidate a man who has fought and will fight as long as breath is in his body the Standard Oil system, because it is expedient, because it is politic, because it is wise, I offer to this



EUGENE W. CHAPIN

Prohibition Party Candidate for President.



AARON S. WATKINS

Prohibition Party Candidate for Vice-President.



GOVERNORS OF SOUTH DAKOTA, CONNECTICUT, KENTUCKY, MONTANA,  
NEW HAMPSHIRE, COLORADO.

Coe I. Crawford, South Dakota.  
Rollin S. Woodruff, Connecticut.  
August E. Willson, Kentucky.

Edwin L. Norris, Montana.  
Charles M. Floyd, New Hampshire,  
Henry A. Buchtel, Colorado.



convention as its candidate for President of the United States in this initial campaign the name of Thomas L. Hisgen, of Massachusetts."

When Mr. Sawyer eulogized Mr. Hisgen as a man "who has tasted in his soul the oppression of predatory wealth and fought it back tooth and nail, asking no quarter and giving none—a man who stands for everything John D. Rockefeller does not," the delegates yelled their delight, and Mrs. Hisgen, wife of the candidate, standing in a box like a vision of white in a bower of banners and national colors, blushing with pride and happy as a bride, joined her lady companions, who were waving handkerchiefs and banners to urge on the marching admirers of her husband.

The home life of the candidate and his family is said to be ideal. Mr. and Mrs. Hisgen have three children.

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#### JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

For many years John Temple Graves, the Independence Party candidate for Vice-President, has been called by his friends "The Little Giant of the South." This is doubtless in recognition of his small physical stature and his giant intellect. Since the days of Henry W. Grady there has perhaps been no one more worthy to be called his successor as a journalist and as an orator than John Temple Graves, who was born at Willington Church, Abbeville County, South Carolina, November 9, 1856.

As a statesman and an orator Mr. Graves doubtless inherits much of his talent from the same ancestry as his illustrious great-uncle, John C. Calhoun, of national fame. Mr. Graves' mother was the daughter of William Calhoun, the eldest brother of the famous lawyer, statesman, orator and Secessionist of South Carolina, who Daniel Webster said was the most impressive personage in the national legislature, and that he "trod the floor of the Senate with the stately dignity of a tribune of old."

#### EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION.

John Temple Graves graduated from the University of Georgia in 1875 before he was twenty-one years of age and entered at once upon a journalistic career. In 1881 he removed to Jacksonville, Fla., and became the editor of the *Daily Florida Union*. A few years later he was made editor of the *Atlanta Daily Journal*, and for two years was editor of the *Tribune*, of Rome, Ga. In 1905 he became

editor-in-chief and co-proprietor of the *Atlanta Daily News*, and later of the *Georgian*, which he continued to edit until 1907, when he removed to New York to become editor-in-chief of the *New York American*, which position he occupied when nominated for the Vice-Presidency of the Independence Party.

#### LONG POLITICAL TRAINING.

From early life Mr. Graves has taken an active interest in the political questions of the country. His position as editor of the papers referred to has put him in touch with the leading political thought. In 1884 he was made the Presidential elector at large from the State of Florida, and his popularity as a public speaker enabled him to lead the ballot at that time. In 1888, while living in Rome, Ga., he was sent by that State in the same political capacity, and again led the ballot. In 1905 he was a candidate for United States Senator from Georgia, but withdrew before the election.

#### A SECOND HENRY W. GRADY.

It is as a public orator and writer on public questions along advanced lines that Mr. Graves has attained his greatest fame. As was suggested in the beginning, he has been classed with Henry W. Grady both as a speaker and leader of progressive and patriotic sentiment in the South. At the death of Mr. Grady Mr. Graves, who was then quite a young man, pronounced an oration upon that great Georgian second in eloquence perhaps to no other eulogy delivered in memory of any other American. This oration has been copied in scores of books of choice selections within the past twenty years, and hundreds of young men in colleges have used it in public speaking.

Like Henry W. Grady, Mr. Graves has been in demand as an orator at prominent conventions in all sections of the country. In 1893 and 1895 he was the orator for the New England Society at Boston. In 1890 he spoke for the same society in Philadelphia. In 1895 and 1896 he addressed the Merchants' Club in Boston. In 1889 he accepted an invitation to deliver the oration before the New York Southern Club. In 1895, when the World's Congress of Journalists met at Chicago, Mr. Graves was the orator of the occasion. He also spoke the same year as the orator of the World's Congress of Dentists in Chicago.

Mr. Graves is a bold thinker, and by many regarded as erratic.

His theory for settling the race problem by setting apart certain States of the Union, to be occupied and wholly controlled by the negroes, and in which white men might not become citizens and vote, was a curious and original idea, for which Mr. Graves came in for much criticism, friendly and unfriendly, by both the black and white people of the country. His theory, therefore, offers much food for thought.

#### PROPOSED BRYAN-ROOSEVELT TICKET.

In 1907 Mr. Graves delivered an address on the "Era of Good Feeling," at the Bryan banquet, Chattanooga, Tenn. In this speech he urged upon Mr. Bryan, who was present, that as a representative of the Democratic Party and in recognition of the Democratic doctrines which Mr. Roosevelt had put in force, that he, Mr. Bryan, should renominate Mr. Roosevelt as the candidate of both parties to carry to a successful conclusion the fight Mr. Roosevelt was making in behalf of the people against predatory wealth, and that Bryan should accept the Vice-Presidential nomination on the same ticket. This doctrine was considered erratic by both the Democratic and Republican leaders, to whom the idea of reconciling the parties, and especially of harnessing the two representative leaders of those parties in the same team, seemed ridiculous. It is needless to say, however, that Mr. Graves was deeply and sincerely in earnest in the proposition, and many patriotic people in the country who were not controlled by party bonds applauded the suggestion, and believed if it were not a feasible thing it would be, at least, a good thing for the country if Mr. Graves' suggestion could be adopted. In leaving the Democratic Party at the formation of the Independence Party Mr. Graves explained that he believed the old party and its leaders were hopelessly encumbered with the domination of wealth, and that Jeffersonian principles demanded a new party.

Outside of the newspaper world Mr. Graves has been industrious in a literary way. He has written much for the magazines and been one of the country's most popular lecturers. Among his productions may be named: "The History of Florida of To-Day," "A History of Colleton, South Carolina," "Twelve Standard Lectures," "Platform of To-Day," "Speeches and Selections for Schools," "Era of Good Feeling," and "The Negro."

Mr. Graves has been twice married. His present wife was Miss Anne E. Cothran, of Rome, Ga., whom he married in 1890.



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### CLAIMS OF THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY AND SUMMARY OF ITS PRINCIPLES.

BY JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES.

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Surely no new party has ever given more shining evidence of its vitality and more flattering promise of success than the Independence Party. From the first municipal election in New York, in which the candidate of the Independence League astonished the republic by his extraordinary display of strength through the Massachusetts election which landed its gubernatorial nominee six thousand votes in advance of the State Democratic ticket, to the Chicago election, which swept the municipal field for Dunne and municipal ownership, the record of the league which is now the party beginning its national career under the inspiring convention of July, 1908, has been one triumphant story of advancement and growth.

The leaders of this party are willing to fight, and they are willing to wait for success. They do not expect to leap in a single national campaign into control of the Government. But they have absolute confidence in the justice and rectitude of their declaration of principles. They are absolutely united and harmonious in their political creeds. They have a leader of extraordinary sagacity and of unparalleled devotion to their cause.

And if it takes one campaign or two campaigns, or even three, they are willing to work and to wait, and to trust time and the people for the vindication of their righteous creeds and the triumph of their sincere and patriotic principles.

#### WHY I LEFT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

I left the Democratic Party because I lost faith in that party's ability or willingness to do anything of value for the rank and file of the population in this great nation of 90,000,000 people. The Demo-

cratic Party has rapidly degenerated into a motley aggregation of office holders and office seekers. It has shown itself willing and ready to trade its principles. Its organization is controlled by selfish, plotting, unworthy men, who use the party name for what they get out of it in personal aggrandizement.

Why, the wobbling itinerary of that party in recent years ought to make any self-respecting citizen ashamed to belong to it. When has that party ever done anything of consequence that it has not reversed and apologized for? From the conservative Grover Cleveland to the radical Bryan it pendulated for years. The swing of the pendulum from Bryan back to the conservative pole was seen at St. Louis in 1904, when Parker was nominated on the shameless and treasonable plea that he was not objectionable to the trusts.

#### RADICAL ONCE MORE.

Now the party is radical once more, or, rather, affects radicalism merely because it has the radical Bryan as its standard bearer. But don't we know—does not all the world know—that one-half of the delegates who shouted for him when they nominated him at Denver were denouncing him a few years ago, and that the moment they left the convention hall they were against him to a man.

In the great Democratic States of the nation there is no longer any faith in the decadent Democracy of to-day. It is felt by all honest men that the first great mission of the Independence Party should be to destroy the fetish worship of a party name—to abolish forever the horrible slavery of the millions of American voters who adhere to a party in whose principles they don't believe and whose practice they know has been and is to throttle the voice of independent Americans.

This great party, founded by Jefferson and glorified by generations of liberty-loving Americans, is now a pitiable, moribund remnant. It is torn by faction. On every vital issue and beneficent measure to-day before the people this party is hopelessly divided.

#### NO HOPE FROM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republicans have been promising to give all the people a square deal. The Democrats would like to have had a hand in the dealing. But the Independence Party aims to get a new deal. There is no square deal without a new deal. Let us have it.

Quimby S. Backus, Independence Party candidate for Governor of Vermont, who has successfully operated a large independent or anti-trust manufacturing plant at Brandon, in his native State, said:

"I hold that, it is the Republican Party has left me, not I who has left the Republican Party. I was a Republican all my life. But when I became satisfied that the great party of Lincoln had abandoned the principles of equity and justice on which it was founded I was forced to realize that I could not act with that party."

#### MISSION OF THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY.

The greatest mission of the Independence Party is to show the American voter how he can work out his own salvation. The essence of this salvation is freedom from boss rule. Legislation in State and nation is largely controlled by bosses. No independent people will long tolerate the rule of bosses, which is necessarily corrupt.

The rank and file of the voting population are always honest. When they begin to realize, as they inevitably will realize, that the two old parties represent only the shell, with bosses and henchmen in control, the great body of American voters will turn to the party that has all the vital and beneficent principles of American party government. That party is the Independence Party, the real successor of what has been best and noblest in the Democratic and Republican parties of the past.

We can do nothing better to argue the claims of this new party upon all patriotic Americans than to summarize the principles set forth in the platform adopted at its national convention, July 28th, in Chicago. Read them over and answer *yes* or *no* to each enunciation for yourself. This is what the Independence Party favors:

Direct nominations, initiative and referendum and right of recall.  
—Legislation against corrupt practices and use of money at elections.  
—Cessation of over-capitalization and other corporate frauds.—No injunctions in labor cases before trial and a jury trial in contempt cases.—Removal of organizations of farmers and workers from operation of Sherman anti-trust law.—Eight-hour day for Government employees.—Law to prevent blacklisting of employees.—Better protection for lives and health of workers.—State and federal inspection of railroads for safety.—Employers' liability law.—Prohibition of child labor.—Prohibition of competition of convict labor.—Crea-



tion of a Department of Labor, including mines and mining.—All money to be issued by Government through central bank.—Tariff revision by friends of the people.—Better supervision of railroads and physical valuation of their property.—An effective anti-trust law carrying a prison penalty.—Government ownership of railroads as soon as practicable and immediate Government ownership of telegraphs.—Parcels post and postal savings banks.—Good roads.—Statehood for Arizona and New Mexico.—Court review of postal censorship and rulings.—Prohibition of fictitious sales of farm products for future delivery and suppression of bucket shops.—A national health bureau.—Exclusion of Asiatic cheap labor.—A greater navy.—Extension of inland waterways and conservation of natural resources.—Protection of American citizens abroad.—Popular election of United States Senators and State and federal judges.—A graduated income tax.

#### THE HOPE OF THE COUNTRY—THE NEW PARTY.

What more could patriotic voters ask than that the above declarations be enacted into laws?

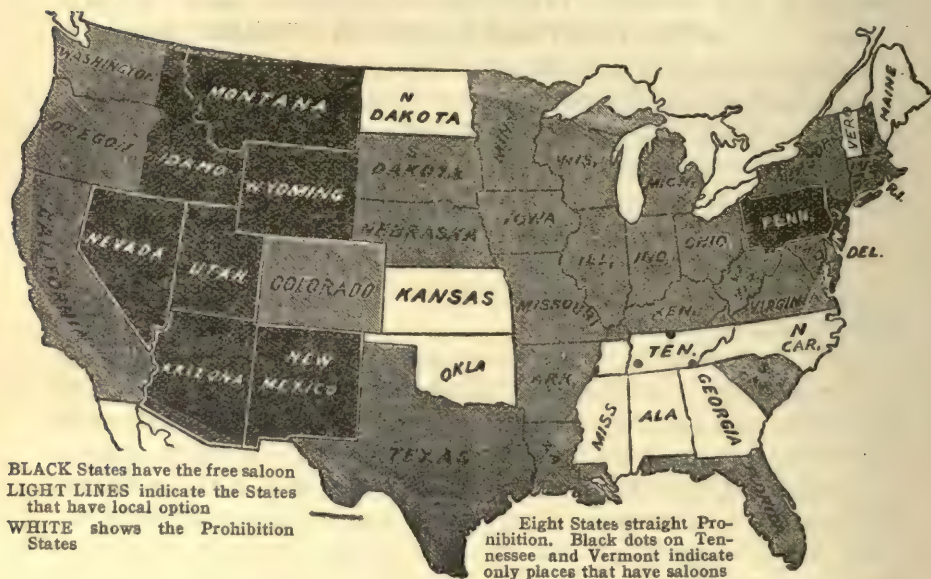
The Independence Party is as natural and logical a movement as ever grew out of political conditions and expanded in the spirit of the government and the necessities of the people. It came because it was needed. It was born as one predestined to service and to victory.

Before its first articulate cry its lusty stirrings in the womb of circumstance had set political parties in unrest, and its birth, postponed until its appointed time, comes at last in responsive loyalty to the laws of nature and to the call of liberty.

And I, who was raised in the ranks of the Democratic Party to revere its traditions and to cherish its sacred principles rather than its fallible leaders, have been compelled to forsake the ancient and sinking craft of a Democracy which no longer carries the faith of my fathers, and to find in this new vital and independent party that real and unstained Democracy which is yet and will always be the dream and the aspiration of my political life.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY AND THE CONVENTION OF 1908.



It is the fashion with the old parties to ridicule the idea of bringing the question of prohibition into politics. Even many earnest prohibitionists declare that prohibition should not be the basis of a political party; and while they favor it, and many of them vote for it in local and State contests, they withhold their votes from the party in national Presidential elections. The chief stock argument for not voting the national Prohibition ticket is that the great majority of American voters are either Republicans or Democrats in their general policy of government; and, believing that either the Democratic or Republican party must win, and that the Prohibition party cannot win, they cast their votes against the party that they would really prefer to

have in power on the ground that it is their duty to vote for the party of their choice in the contest between the two, one of which must be successful.

All the greater honor then, say the loyal supporters of prohibition, to those who do stand by the ticket, preferring rather to be defeated under its banner than to be victorious under any other. They are the little leaven through which they hope in time to leaven all the mighty lump of American politics and bring about ultimately national prohibition.

That they are succeeding in this is undoubtedly true, and whether prohibition shall triumph in its own name, or whether it shall work its leaven into one or both of the great parties to such an extent that its principles, opposing the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, shall become a law of the land, the Prohibition party will have accomplished its purpose.

The year 1907 witnessed a tremendous advance in the United States in the movement to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors. In the South it was practically the only issue. There are now seven prohibition States and many local option States, as is shown by the accompanying map. Maine, Georgia, North Dakota, Kansas, Oklahoma, Alabama and North Carolina have gone both bodily and wholly into the prohibition rank. These States are left white on the map shown.

The first step in the prohibition movement has nearly always been local option, by which is meant that each locality or county has the right to vote as to whether or not saloons shall be licensed within their bounds. The States in which local option prevails are marked in light lines. In nearly all of these local option States the dry territory has been steadily increasing for ten years. In the South as a whole it has more than doubled. In Texas it has tripled, and it is confidently predicted by prohibitionists that both Texas and Kentucky will within less than three years take their places with the other prohibition States. In fact, Governor Wilson, of Kentucky, was elected in November, 1907, on a prohibition platform, and ninety-seven out of the one hundred and nineteen counties in the State went wholly "dry" and of the remaining twenty-two counties only four were wholly "wet." This seems an extraordinary condition for Kentucky, where one hundred million dollars is invested in distilleries—the home of the famous blue grass whiskey.



## WHERE PROHIBITION IS GAINING.

From statistics gathered early in 1908 the following interesting facts appear, showing the remarkable growth of the prohibition sentiment and how rapidly it is crystallizing into law:

In Tennessee liquor can be had publicly only in the cities of Memphis, Nashville and Chattanooga.

Georgia became a prohibition State on January 1, 1908, and the law is so drastic that wine cannot be used at communion services in churches, nor can druggists sell any form of liquor except pure alcohol.

Alabama by act of the Legislature in November, 1907, became a prohibition State.

Florida has thirty-four of its forty-seven counties dry, and Governor Broward is actively leading a campaign for State prohibition.

South Carolina recently repealed its famous dispensary law and substituted local option by counties. A movement for State prohibition has been started, and seventeen out of forty-one counties have voted for no saloons.

North Carolina in April, 1908, joined the prohibition column, under the lead of Governor Glenn.

Virginia has seventy-two dry counties out of 118.

West Virginia has thirty out of fifty-five, and Governor Dawson is actively fighting the liquor traffic.

Fourteen of Maryland's twenty-three counties are dry.

In Delaware the election in November, 1907, resulted in two of the three counties going dry.

Louisiana has eighteen dry parishes and parts of others are also dry, and it is illegal to solicit orders for liquor in any of the dry districts.

Arkansas has sixty out of seventy-five counties dry and many dry towns in the others.

Missouri's local option law has made forty-four of her 115 counties abolish saloons. Sunday closing even in St. Louis is rigorously enforced.

Texas is one of the most notable examples of the revolution, for 147 counties are absolutely dry, fifty-three are partly dry and only forty-seven are totally wet. The sale of liquor on dining cars is forbidden, and a traveler on a train may not even drink from his own flask.

Oklahoma has just adopted a constitution that forbids the sale of liquor.

Kansas is a prohibition State, and the last of the "speak-easy" saloons has just been suppressed by popular opinion.

Nebraska has local option by villages and cities; 400 are dry, 600 wet.

South Dakota is about one-quarter dry.

North Dakota has been a prohibition State so long that in some of the counties there are no jails.

Minnesota has 123 dry towns and rigid Sunday closing.

Iowa, once a prohibition State, has sixty-five out of ninety-nine counties dry and eleven other counties have only one saloon each.

Wisconsin has 650 dry towns.

Michigan, under a county option law, has only one dry county.

A prohibition wave is rolling through Illinois, and more than 3,000,000 people are in the dry district.

Six hundred and eighty of Indiana's 1,016 townships are dry, and the prohibition advocates expect to increase the license fee to \$1,000.

In Ohio 1,140 out of 1,376 townships are dry and 60 per cent of the municipalities.

Pennsylvania seems little affected by the temperance wave, but there is one dry county.

New Jersey has no local option, but has recently begun a vigorous closing of saloons on Sundays.

New York has township option, under which 602 towns in the State have no saloons.

Only twenty-four towns in Vermont allow liquor to be sold.

New Hampshire is nominally a prohibition State, but only 62 per cent of the population lives in really dry territory.

Massachusetts has 250 dry and 100 wet towns.

Connecticut has ninety-six dry towns out of 176, and every saloon must be run by its actual owner.

About half of Rhode Island is dry.

In Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona the Anti-Saloon League has started a campaign that has already resulted in the passage of a local option law in the first named State.

In Montana, Idaho, Wyoming and Utah, although the saloons

run about as they like, they are beginning to realize that sentiment is changing. The Mormon Church is fighting them, and the prohibition people have already persuaded Idaho to adopt a Sunday closing law.

On the Pacific Slope, California has four dry counties and much dry territory in the others, while in Oregon twelve counties are dry and 170 municipalities in the twenty-one wet counties are also dry. Washington has fifty dry towns.

#### NATIONAL PROHIBITION COMING.

Mr. Charles R. Jones, National Chairman of the Prohibition Party, says: "The record of four years since the last Presidential election is an eye-opener to the patriots and politicians alike. Nearly two-thirds of the area of our country and nearly one-half of the people are now under Prohibition protection. During the last four years the amount of Prohibition territory has been doubled, and twenty million people added to those living in Prohibition cities, counties and States, making over forty million souls now by their own choice in saloon-freed districts. In 1904 there were scarcely one hundred Prohibition cities of 5,000 or over. There are to-day two hundred and fifty Prohibition cities in the United States having a population of over 5,000 each. In 1904 the National Liquor League of the United States was organized at Cincinnati to put the lid on the apparent beginning of Prohibition Renaissance. Four years of the "National Liquor League of the United States," with its distribution of twenty millions of leaflets against Prohibition has resulted in adding twenty million people to the Prohibition population of the country.

"One of the most striking contrasts between 1904 and 1908 is seen in the attitude of the daily and secular press toward the Prohibition question. Since 1904 leading daily papers in all parts of the country have begun to exclude liquor advertisements from their columns, and they are to-day giving ten times more attention and far more friendly treatment of the Prohibition issue than was the case in 1904. The entire nation has become alive to this issue within the last twelve months. It is the greatest national issue since the Declaration of Independence, since it benefits and blesses every section alike."



## THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION CONVENTION, 1908.

"COLUMBUS, O., July 15th.

"Fifteen hundred delegates to the National Prohibition Convention were called to order here this morning in Memorial Hall by Charles R. Jones, of Chicago, chairman of the national committee, who then turned the meeting over to the temporary chairman, Robert H. Patton, of Illinois."

The above was the first news flashed over the wires concerning the meeting of the convention. As a matter of fact, it had been announced that 1,500 delegates would attend the convention, and when they thronged into the hall it was easy to guess there were that number. The report of the Committee on Credentials, however, announced accurately that thirty-seven States and one Territory were represented and that 1,126 delegates were present. There were no contests of the seats. This was the largest delegation of any national party in 1908, and they made the shortest platform on record.

## THE ENTERING OF THE DELEGATIONS.

An eager throng of friends filled the galleries before the official representatives of the various States had assembled.

As the delegations entered the hall they cheered for their choice for President, and some had topical songs to awaken enthusiasm. There was no ban against advertising the aspirants for the nomination, and a thirty-foot banner was carried in hailing Joseph P. Tracy, of Detroit, Mich., as the "salt of the earth."

The first demonstration in the hall was aroused by the arrival of the Massachusetts delegation, carrying a standard surmounted by a water wagon and bearing a water bucket as a pendant. The delegation sang "The Old Oaken Bucket."

Chairman Jones rapped for silence at 10.35 o'clock and called the tenth national convention to order. He said that since the Prohibition Party was organized, thirty-six years ago, the movement has spread, until now 40,000,000 people lived in territory which was outlawed the saloon. He predicted an extensive increase in the prohibition vote this year.

The Rev. E. L. Eaton, of Illinois, offered the invocation. As he prayed for the hastening of the time "when there shall be no drunkards

and no drunkard makers," there was a chorus of amens from the delegates and audience.

The committee recommended that Mrs. Carrie Nation be given a seat in the convention as a representative of the District of Columbia. The report was adopted without dissent.

There were two sessions of the convention during the day. Both worked under the temporary organization, and they adjourned until the next day without hearing the report of the committee appointed to select its permanent officers.

#### PATTON'S KEYNOTE SPEECH.

After the opening exercises the meeting was presided over by Temporary Chairman Robert H. Patton, of Illinois. The nominating of the members of the various committees and receiving the reports of the committees on rules and on credentials and Mr. Patton's speech, sounding the keynote of prohibition, constituted the day's business. In his address Mr. Patton vigorously attacked the position of the Republican and Democratic parties on the liquor question. At times he moved his hearers to great enthusiasm. As he proceeded driving shafts at the other national parties he was cheered again and again.

"Take off your coat," and "hit him again," cried voices from the delegates, and these were interspersed with "amens." The speaker took off his coat and then paid his compliments to the late Herman Raster, of Illinois, author of the personal liberty plank of the 1872 Republican platform. This plank, known as the "sixteenth plank," was denounced by Mr. Patton. He claimed that the Republicans had stuck to the error ever since. Mr. Patton further stated that Abraham Lincoln, next to the abolition of slavery, believed in the abolition of the liquor traffic. On this point he said:

"Place alongside the attitude of the Republican party since 1872 the well-established views of Abraham Lincoln on this question. I hold in my hands absolute proof that Lincoln was in favor of the prohibition of the liquor traffic. On January 29, 1853, Mr. Lincoln, in the company of thirty-eight other citizens of Springfield, listened to a radical prohibition sermon, and afterward in writing requested its publication. The document I hold in my hand is one of the original copies of that publication, including the sermon and the letters

signed by Lincoln and others. This copy was found by myself in our law office in Springfield among some old papers of the old law firm of Lincoln & Herndon. I quote from the sermon the following:

“The liquor traffic is a cancer in society, eating out its vitals and threatening destruction, and all attempts to regulate it will not only prove abortive but aggravate the evil. No, there must be no more effort to regulate the cancer; it must be eradicated; not a root must be left behind.

“The remedy, the most effectual, would be the passage of a law altogether abolishing the liquor traffic, except for mechanical, chemical, medicinal and sacramental purposes.’

“These words I have quoted were uttered by the Rev. James Smith and the letter written him, requesting their publication by Lincoln and others, was as follows:

“‘SPRINGFIELD, ILL., January 29, 1853.

“‘REV. JAMES SMITH, D.D.

“‘SIR:—The undersigned have listened with great satisfaction to the discourse on the subject of temperance delivered by you last evening, and believing that if published and circulated among the people it would be productive of good, would respectfully request a copy thereof for publication.

“‘Very sincerely your friends,

“‘A. LINCOLN AND 38 OTHERS.’

“We may well congratulate ourselves that our party is the only party to-day that stands for these principles which Lincoln himself approved and published in 1853.”

Passing from the Republican party, Mr. Patton spoke of that “very talkative man from Lincoln,” and said that in the last sixteen years Mr. Bryan “has championed everything else under the sun in the way of a political issue except the prohibition question.”

Just before the close of the morning session an address of welcome to the delegates was made by Mayor C. A. Bond, of Columbus, the response for the convention being made by William P. F. Ferguson, of Chicago.

All the larger delegations representing the States which cast the heaviest votes for the cause were on the ground, including Illinois,



Pennsylvania, Indiana, New York, Ohio, Iowa, California, Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin.

With seventeen names in the list of candidates the contest for the nomination for President took on an interesting aspect. Charles Scanlon, of Pittsburg, and Joseph P. Tracey, of Detroit, appeared to have an advantage over the field. Other States arranged to push favorite sons, among the leaders being Fred W. Wheeler, of California, who also had a following among New England delegates; Daniel R. Sheen, of Illinois, and Alfred I. Manierre, of New York.

Joshua Levering, of Baltimore, who was a candidate in 1896, did not take seriously the talk of renominating him. Rev. J. B. Cranfill, of Texas, was much talked of. Members of the Indiana delegation endorsed Judge Samuel A. Artman, of Indiana, as their candidate. Judge Artman is a Republican, and was running as a candidate for a second term as Circuit Judge.

Mr. Patton's speech created a profound impression. Immediately he had spoken his boom for the Presidency started, and before the morning adjournment had been taken it was fairly under way. The Indiana delegates led the movement in his behalf.

Mr. Patton, however, sincerely requested that his name be not considered, and his friends reluctantly yielded to his wishes. Hence he was not presented as a candidate at the next day's session.

## SECOND DAY OF THE CONVENTION, JULY 16TH.

### PERMANENT OFFICERS CHOSEN AND THE PLATFORM ADOPTED.

At the morning session of the convention the Committee on Permanent Organization reported as its selection for permanent chairman Charles Scanlon, of Pittsburg. In all other respects the temporary organization was made permanent. The report was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Scanlon spoke briefly, and then recognized Felix T. McWhirter, treasurer of the national committee, who made an appeal for funds to meet campaign expenses. The delegates responded with generous contributions.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was presented by the chairman, Professor Samuel Dickie, president of Albion College, Michigan. He moved the adoption of the platform as read.

Several delegates attempted to introduce amendments, but were sharply cut off by Chairman Scanlon, who refused to recognize any man until the question had been put.

The platform was then adopted by a viva voce vote amid ringing cheers.

The convention then took a recess until 2 P. M.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT MADE.

Nominations for the Presidency were the first order of business at the afternoon session.

A rule was adopted limiting nominating speeches to fifteen minutes each and seconding speeches to five minutes each, two seconding speeches for each candidate.

Before names of candidates were presented Treasurer McWhirter announced that \$17,900 had been contributed at the forenoon session.

The first name presented was that of Frederick F. Wheeler, of Los Angeles, Cal., who was placed in nomination by James H. Woertendyke, of Riverside, Cal.

Colorado yielded to Texas, and Charles S. Pierce placed in nomination J. B. Cranfill, of Dallas, whose name was received with much applause.

Daniel R. Sheen, of Peoria, Ill., was placed in nomination by Oliver W. Stewart.

Kentucky, through L. L. Pickett, presented the name of William B. Palmore, of St. Louis, declaring the South had "much prohibition thought lying around loose," but that it needed a man who could concentrate this strength and get it to the polls. Mr. Pickett took his seat amid cheers and with many of the delegates waving flags and cheering wildly.

Joseph P. Tracy, of Detroit, was nominated by Dr. Samuel Dickie, of Michigan, as "the business man" candidate.

#### HOW WOLFENBARGER NOMINATED CHAFIN.

When Nebraska was reached in the roll-call for the presentation of Presidential candidates, Hon. A. G. Wolfenbarger responded in these words, which, as a result of the balloting, are of special interest:

"My position in nominating a candidate, not from my own State, might be called audacious, but the psychological moment is here, when

with eight great States already above the political horizon, with the air charged with the rising hope of millions heretofore in the bondage of this universal curse, only the breath of God will be required to fan into a consuming fire this sentiment which will forever destroy the liquor traffic in our nation. I would not for a moment disparage the candidacy or ambition of a single favorite son among the intellectual giants and moral heroes whose names have already been presented in eloquent language, but there is a name that has not yet been spoken which represents the most magnificent manhood, the most dauntless chivalry and the most statesmanly qualities of this new crusade. The platform we have adopted may almost be said to have been cut in sections from the burning paragraphs of his matchless speeches. He is a peerless orator, an able lawyer, a learned publicist, a model father. His familiarity with the reform history and sentiments of Abraham Lincoln has enabled him to give us both through history and tradition the facts suppressed by the biographers of the great commoner, which make it clear that the immortal Lincoln was one of the foremost prohibitionists of the nation and believed not in license, but in the utter destruction of the world's blighting curse. Let us for a time consider the interests of the whole people of this nation, and choose a standard-bearer who will evoke spontaneous enthusiasm, not from one nor a dozen State delegates, but from the rank and file of the Prohibition party as it represents the consecrated womanhood and the patriotic manhood of our entire nation. With malice toward none and charity for all, with pride in his leadership, and believing him to be the choicest spirit among the galaxy of candidates for this position, I ask you to join Nebraska and more than a dozen other States in naming for our standard-bearer in this campaign Hon. Eugene W. Chafin, not alone of Illinois, but of the United States of America."

New York presented the name of Alfred L. Manierre, the nominating speech being made by Dr. Charles H. Mead.

#### CARRIE NATION SPEAKS.

"North Carolina," called the clerk.

"North Carolina yields to the District of Columbia," came the reply.

A cheer went up as Mrs. Carrie Nation, who represented the District, made her way to the platform. She declared that the candidate



must be a man who did not use tobacco. She was called to order and forced to close abruptly.

M. A. Waterman, of Kansas, seconded the nomination of W. B. Palmore; Frank N. Rand, of Massachusetts, spoke for Chafin, of Illinois, and H. P. Terris, of Missouri, declared his State was for Palmore.

Dr. J. E. Stockwell, of New York, seconded Manierre, and North Carolina joined the forces of Cranfill, of Texas.

B. L. Rockwood, of Pennsylvania, seconded Chafin. George Hoffman, also from the Keystone State and representing a part of the delegation from Pennsylvania, was for Tracy.

#### EUGENE W. CHAFIN FOR PRESIDENT.

The roll was called for the vote, but the first ballot resulted in no nomination. Many of the States divided their votes among all of the candidates in a desire to compliment them.

Three candidates not formally placed in nomination received votes. These were Oliver W. Stewart, of Illinois; George R. Stewart, of Tennessee, and Charles Scanlon, of Pittsburg.

While the clerks were casting up the result great confusion prevailed, bands of delegates parading up and down and shouting wildly for their respective candidates. It was fully fifteen minutes before quiet was restored.

Dr. Cranfill withdrew and asked his friends to vote for Palmore.

#### THE SECOND BALLOT.

It was evident during the progress of the second ballot that Palmore had made decided gains, and his followers were jubilant.

Mr. Wheeler withdrew his name, but did not ask his friends to vote for any particular candidate.

The calling of the roll for the third ballot was at once begun. Delegates from Illinois and New York ran through the hall announcing they had decided to vote solidly for Chafin. Indiana and Wisconsin decided to follow them.

The vote was almost entirely between Palmore and Chafin, with scattering votes for Sheen, Tracy and Manierre. When Missouri was reached Mr. Tracy announced that he desired to withdraw his name, but several more votes were cast for him before the ballot ended, with this result:

Chafin .....	636
Palmore .....	415
Tracy .....	7
Manierre .....	4
Sheen .....	1

Dr. Palmore immediately made a motion declaring the nomination unanimous, and it was carried with a cheer.

Mr. Chafin, who was a delegate to the convention, was escorted to the platform and formally declared by Chairman Scanlon to be the Presidential nominee. In a short speech he returned thanks to the convention, declaring he would rather be the nominee of the Prohibition party than the successful candidate of any other.

#### AARON S. WATKINS FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

When Mr. Chafin left the stand a motion was made by Norton Clark, of Michigan, declaring that Dr. William B. Palmore should be chosen as the Vice-Presidential candidate by acclamation. The motion was carried with a roar of approval, and the secretary was instructed to cast for Dr. Palmore the unanimous vote of the convention.

Doctor Palmore, in returning his thanks to the convention, stated that he did not feel that he could accept the nomination and insisted upon withdrawing from the ticket.

#### NOMINATIONS CALLED FOR.

The announcement was made to the convention and other nominations were called for.

H. F. McClain, of Ohio, made a brief speech, nominating for the Vice-Presidency Prof. Aaron S. Watkins, of Ada, Ohio. T. B. Demaree, of Kentucky, and Charles F. Holler, of Indiana, were then placed in nomination, and a roll call was ordered, which resulted:

Holler .....	41
Watkins .....	585
Demaree .....	126

On motion of the chairman of the Kentucky delegation, the nomination of Watkins was made unanimous.

The convention then adjourned.

## BOTH CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR.

It is a notable fact that both the candidates were running for Governor of their respective States on the Prohibition ticket, at the time they were nominated for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency at the National Convention. They had both, previously, made a campaign for the Governor's office. They are also both Methodists in their Church relations. Professor Watkins is an ordained minister and preached to various Methodist congregations in Ohio for twelve years.

## THE NEW PROHIBITION NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The new National Executive Committee of the Prohibition Party for the next four years consists of the following nine members, chosen Wednesday, July 15, 1908:

Chairman, Charles R. Jones, Chicago, Ill.; Vice-Chairman, A. G. Wolfenbarger, Lincoln, Neb.; Secretary, W. G. Calderwood, Minneapolis, Minn.; Treasurer, Felix T. McWhirter, Indianapolis, Ind.; Samuel Dickie, Albion, Mich.; O. W. Stewart, Chicago, Ill.; J. B. Cranfill, Dallas, Tex.; Finley C. Hendrickson, Cumberland, Md.; and A. A. Stevens, Tyrone, Pa.

A few days after the convention Chairman Jones announced that the candidates would begin promptly their active campaign, Mr. Chafin going to the West and Professor Watkins to the East, during the month of August. Commencing September the 1st, both candidates will start on a regular, systematized campaign tour in opposite directions, so planned as to cover every section of the Union.

Never did the party organization enter a national campaign with better equipped facilities at headquarters, with so strong a financial backing, or with an office force so adequate to meet every emergency which may arise.

Receipts for the national work for the past three years were as follows: 1905, \$14,837.94; 1906, \$22,154.72; 1907, \$32,745.93; 1908 (first six months, including \$18,000 raised in thirty minutes at the convention), approximately \$40,000.00.



## CHAPTER XXX.

### THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION PLATFORM.

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The Prohibition national platform was adopted at Columbus, Ohio, July 16, 1908. In contrast with the other party platforms, it is noticable for its brevity and clearness of statement. It is the shortest platform on record for any national party, containing less than 400 words. The platform follows:

The Prohibition Party of the United States, assembled in convention at Columbus, O., July 15-16, 1908, expressing gratitude to Almighty God for the victories of our principles in the past, for encouragement at present, and for confidence of early and triumphant success in the future, makes the following declaration of principles and pledges their enactment into law when placed in power:

1. The submission by Congress to the several States of an amendment to the Federal Constitution prohibiting the sale, importation, exportation or transportation of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes.
2. The immediate prohibition of the liquor traffic for beverage purposes in the District of Columbia, in the Territories and all places over which the national government has jurisdiction, the repeal of the internal revenue tax on alcoholic liquors and the prohibition of the interstate traffic therein.
3. The election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.
4. Equitable graduated income and inheritance taxes.
5. The establishment of postal savings banks and the guaranty of deposits in banks.
6. The regulation of all corporations doing an interstate commerce business.
7. The creation of a permanent tariff commission.
8. The strict enforcement of law instead of the official tolerance

and practical license of the social evil which prevails in many of our cities, and its unspeakable traffic in girls.

9. Uniform marriage and divorce laws.

10. An equitable and constitutional employers' liability act.

11. Court review of postoffice department decisions.

12. The prohibition of child labor in mines, workshops and factories.

13. Legislation basing suffrage only upon intelligence and ability to read and write the English language.

14. The preservation of the mineral and forest resources of the country and the improvement of the highways and waterways.

Believing in the righteousness of our cause and in the final triumph of our principles, and convinced of the unwillingness of the Republican and Democratic parties to deal with these issues, we invite to full party fellowship all citizens who are with us agreed.

#### WHAT THE PROHIBITION PARTY PROPOSES TO DO IN THIS CAMPAIGN.

Educate every thinking voter in the facts and truths of the Prohibition reform.

Make it impossible for any editor or public man to oppose Prohibition through ignorance of the truth.

Organize every election district in the nation.

Enroll and put a NATIONAL ISSUE Button on the lapels of from 1,000,000 to 5,000,000 voters of America.

Force the liquor men to show their actual strength.

Compel recognition of the Prohibition issue by next Congress, and its immediate passage of the Littlefield Interstate Liquor Bill or similar measure for the protection of 45,000,000 people now living in no-license territory.

Elect a nucleus of Prohibition leaders to Congress.

Elect our National Prohibition Candidates, which is not impossible, by securing the attention and support of Prohibition voters early enough in the campaign to split the liquor parties and provoke a national uprising of all opposed to the drink curse.

Every one of these achievements will tremendously strengthen and inspire the nation-wide movement for local County and State Prohibition and all law-enforcement endeavor.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### EUGENE W. CHAFIN.

#### PROHIBITION CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, 1908.

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Mr. Chafin has been a prohibition advocate for many years and has been prominently honored in the past by his party. He was born on a farm near East Troy, Wisconsin, November 1, 1852, where he grew to manhood in the country. His parents were poor and he earned money by working on a neighbor's farm to pay his way through the University of Wisconsin, from which he graduated and received the degree of Bachelor of Law. On leaving college he went to Waukesha, Wisconsin, where he entered upon his profession in 1876 and practiced there for twenty-five years, rising to prominence in his profession, as is shown by the fact that he appeared before the Supreme Court of the State in more than half a hundred cases.

Almost coincident with the beginning of his law practice Mr. Chafin became active in the temperance work. His powers as a public speaker brought him constantly before the public as an orator, and his executive ability singled him out as a man upon whom responsibility of office could safely be placed. In 1882 he became the Prohibition candidate of his district for Congress. From 1886 to 1890 he was the Grand Chief Templar for Wisconsin in the Order of Good Templars. In 1886, and again in 1900, he ran on the Prohibition ticket for Attorney General of Wisconsin. In 1898 he was nominated by his party for Governor of the State. Of course, the nominations of the Prohibition Party in Wisconsin, so far as elections to office were concerned, were empty honors, but they were nevertheless conferred upon men who were worthy of these honors, in the event of success, and who from principle were willing to labor for a cause that they knew in the beginning could not succeed at that time.



## MR. CHAFIN BECOMES A CITIZEN OF ILLINOIS.

Early in 1901 Mr. Chafin removed his home from Waukesha, Wisconsin, to Chicago, Illinois. This was done in the interest of his large and growing practice in the law. But his legal successes and very arduous duties, in the metropolis of the West, increased rather than lessened his ardor in the cause of Prohibition. The wickedness of the great city, with its thousands of saloons open every day, every night and every Sunday, luring their hundreds of thousands of victims to disgrace and destruction, appealed irresistibly to the earnest and powerful advocate from the quiet Wisconsin town, and he threw himself immediately into the work. He became superintendent of the Washingtonian Home in Chicago the first year of his residence there, which position he held from 1901 to 1904.

In 1902 the Prohibitionists of Illinois honored Mr. Chafin with a nomination for Congress, and he made a heroic fight against a forlorn hope as he had done for a similar position in Wisconsin. The only reward that could come from his campaign was the sowing of the seeds of temperance where he believed it would take root, and in time produce its legitimate harvest. With eloquence and logic he pleaded the cause of Prohibition so faithfully and earnestly that the State of his adoption became as proud to do him honor as had his native State of Wisconsin. Two years later, in 1904, he was nominated for Attorney-General of the State of Illinois on the Prohibition ticket and made another characteristic fight. The same year the Good Templars conferred upon him the honor of Grand Chief Templar of Illinois, and he has since been active as a speaker and organizer in nearly all temperance and prohibition movements.

Illinois had a greater honor in store for him in 1908, when his party made him the candidate for Governor of the State, thus duplicating the honor which Wisconsin had conferred upon him eight years before. It was natural, therefore, that the National Convention of the Prohibition Party, which met in Columbus, Ohio, in July, 1908, after sifting through a large number of available and strong Presidential aspirants, should have settled their eyes upon this oft-honored son of the West and choose him for the standard bearer of temperance and prohibition in the national campaign for the highest office in our nation. For more than thirty years he had been tested and tried and always proved a warrior, faithful to the duty imposed

upon him, eloquent, courageous and valiant, who, in his fight for a principle, met defeat without being conquered, or without losing one whit of his faith and sure confidence in the final triumph of the cause of prohibition, whether its party shall ever be placed in power or not.

It was doubtless the recent work done by Mr. Chafin that made its greatest impression upon those who stood near him in the prohibition cause. Last winter, when the United Societies of Chicago, comprising the saloonkeepers and liquor interests, got up petitions signed by 175,000 people, urging the election commissioners to submit to a vote the question whether the State law on Sunday closing should be repealed, which question in reality was whether it should be enforced, the Prohibitionists immediately attacked the proposal, saying that the enforcement of a law was not a question to be submitted to vote. And they won out in their contention. In the fight Mr. Chafin was their leading attorney.

Mrs. Chafin, like the wife of William Jennings Bryan and Mrs. Taft, is an inspiration and a helper of her husband, and it is doubtless due to the fact that she seconds him so loyally in his efforts to further the cause of temperance and prohibition that his success is largely due. Mrs. Chafin was Miss Carrie A. Hankins, of Waukesha, Wisconsin. It was in her home town that she met the rising young lawyer and learned to admire him. And there they were married on November 24, 1881. They have one daughter fifteen years of age.

Mr. Chafin takes an active interest in literature, and along political and historical lines has done some literary work of credit. As far back as 1876 he compiled a Voter's Hand Book. Twenty years later he prepared a volume of the Lives of the Presidents. He is a believer in harmless sports and games, but he is an earnest foe to gambling, and, in order to discourage ordinary card playing with a less tempting game, he invented and published, in 1907, a set of Presidential Cabinet History Cards, which have been everywhere approved and largely sold in homes where ordinary card playing is discouraged. Mr. and Mrs. Chafin are prominent members of the Methodist Church.

Mr. Chafin did not seek the nomination of his party for President. It came to him spontaneously after the convention had deliberated and considered various other prominent candidates. When he was nominated he made a brief and heartfelt speech to the convention. He was escorted to the platform by the Hon. A. G. Wolfenbarger,

who had placed his name in nomination, and the State Chairman, Alonzo E. Wilson. He was too much overcome and even surprised to speak at length, but with manifest feeling said much, in a few sentences, closing with the following words:

"No man in this United States will be more honored than I have been this year with the nomination at your hands. I was not a candidate for the nomination at any time during the balloting. We are going into the greatest campaign in the history of our party. I shall try to get as many votes as possible for that party. I had my heart set on being governor of the State of Illinois, and never aspired to the nomination for the Presidency. All that I have to say is that I thank you, one and all, from the bottom of my heart for this the greatest honor conferred this year by any of the political parties, because I would rather be a nominee of this convention and this party than be president of the United States at the head of any other ticket."

Mr. Chafin lost no time in launching the Prohibition Campaign, in a ringing speech delivered at Evanston, Illinois, a few days after his nomination, followed by a campaign through the West.

#### VISITS BRYAN. SAVES A NEGRO'S LIFE.

Early in August he visited Lincoln, Neb., the home of William Jennings Bryan, and knowing Mr. Bryan to be a total abstainer, as is also his running mate, John W. Kern, Mr. Chafin thought this fact sufficient to warrant his calling upon the Democratic candidate at "Fairview." Mr. Bryan welcomed him cordially and, at the request of a photographer, they celebrated the event by posing together before the camera, the first two rivals for the Presidency to do so.

When the disgraceful race riot occurred at Springfield, Ill., August 14th and 15th, Mr. Chafin, who was in the city at that time, boldly risked his own life and saved the life of a negro who had been attacked, by standing between him and his assailants and threatening to shoot the first man who struck the defenseless black man. His determined and heroic action cowed and dispersed the mob.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

### AARON SHERMAN WATKINS,

PROHIBITION CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT, 1908.

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Prof. Aaron Sherman Watkins, the running mate of Eugene W. Chafin, on the Prohibition ticket, is a lawyer, a minister and a college professor. He was born on a farm in Logan County, Ohio, November 29, 1863. His ancestors were Quakers,—though he himself is a Methodist minister,—and he traces his lineage back to George Fox and William Penn, the pioneers and founders of Quakerism in America.

Young Watkins's education was begun in the common schools of his vicinity in Ohio. Later he went to the Ohio Northwestern University at Ada, where he now makes his home. Also attended Taylor University at Upland, Indiana. It was in these two schools that he completed his education.

For twelve years after his graduation Mr. Watkins, as a regularly ordained minister, served Methodist churches in Ohio. His practice in the law has necessarily been limited, but his equipment as a lawyer enables him to grasp and handle from a legal standpoint the great questions of public policy that come before him as a candidate for the high position to which he has been named by the party. As an educator Mr. Watkins stands among the leaders, and his influence upon the youth of the country through that calling and the ministry is strongly felt. At present he is vice-president of the Ohio Northern University, of which institution he was formerly a student. In addition to his official duties he is the Professor of Literature and Philosophy in that institution, a position which he has held since 1905. Before he entered the ministry Mr. Watkins taught school six years. He studied law with his brother, Judge Watkins, of Huntington, Indiana, and was admitted to the bar in that State.

Like Mr. Chafin, his chief in the race, Mr. Watkins is happily married a helpful wife, who, in addition to being a devoted mother

to her promising daughter, believes it her duty as well as pleasure to second her husband in every laudable undertaking. Like him, she is an ardent Prohibitionist and a prominent worker in Prohibition circles.

In 1904 Mr. Watkins entered politics as the Prohibition candidate for Congress in the Ninth Ohio District and polled 1,100 votes, the most ever counted for a Prohibition candidate in that District.

Mr. Watkins next came to wide attention among the Prohibitionists of the country by his phenomenal campaign for Governor of Ohio in 1905. In that year the Republicans were seeking the re-election of Herrick, and the Democrats, supported for the first time in history by the Anti-Saloon League, were running Pattison. The excitement was so intense and the pressure so great that the extermination of the Prohibition Party seemed inevitable. In that crisis the Prohibitionists nominated Professor Watkins. He made a most energetic campaign, traveling more than five thousand miles, speaking in all parts of the State and polling a marvelously large vote. On Tuesday, July 14th, just before his nomination as Vice-President, the Prohibitionists of Ohio again nominated him for Governor. He withdrew from the State ticket when nominated for Vice-President. The State Committee fills such vacancies.

Mr. Watkins, like Mr. Chafin, was taken completely by surprise at receiving the nomination for the Vice-Presidency, and he thus addressed the delegates:

"I am going to thank you for the honor as well as I can. I have been using my voice all afternoon for Palmore. I will try and express my profound gratification. I would rather be second choice for second place on this ticket than first choice for any other first place. I would rather be a servant in the house of Prohibition than head of the procession in the party of the saloonkeepers. I thank you for the honor. Whatever else I can do for the good of humanity and the glory of the King of Kings I will do."

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### WHY PROHIBITION IS A POLITICAL ISSUE AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR.

BY ALONZO E. WILSON, GOVERNOR HANLY, OF INDIANA, AND SILAS C. SWALLOW.

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The Prohibition Party stands for prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, or for any purpose, except for necessary scientific and strictly guarded medicinal use. This would necessarily abolish the saloon—the curse of the nation—and it would stop the serving of intoxicants, in any form, in clubs, hotels or other public and private places, or otherwise placing it within easy reach of the public.

Prohibition necessarily becomes a political issue, because the enactment of such national laws as will prohibit its manufacture and sale can be secured only through the demand of a majority of the voters in the nation. And, since it has been impossible to induce either of the dominant but liquor-supported and liquor-fearing parties to introduce a prohibition plank in their national platforms, it is necessary to have a national Prohibition Party to register the national strength of the voters for this measure, and force the sentiment finally into the stronger parties as an issue, or, better still, educate public sentiment until the Prohibition Party shall triumph in its own name. The remarkable growth of prohibition and its complete victory over rum and corruption in eight States already has established the fact that it is an issue in those States, and its forcing local option into the territory occupied by half the population of the Union gives its advocates a faith which beholds a vision of a rumless nation—the first to be so—and that the greatest nation of the earth, at no distant day.

Prohibition is a greater issue than the method of electing Senators, which is made so much of by other parties. It is a greater issue than Imperialism, which attaches weaker people to us, because it asks the question as to whether our own citizens shall be made the



subjects of King Alcohol. It is a greater issue to the laboring man than the anti-injunction laws and all the other laws for which he is asking, because alcohol places more burdens upon the shoulders of the toiler, robs the workingman and his family of more of their rights and comforts, consumes more of his hard earnings, and presses down the crown of thorns upon his brow with a more relentless hand than all the other combined injustices that he has to suffer.

Prohibition is a greater issue than the tariff, over which the Democrats and Republicans have waged war for half a century, because King Alcohol takes from our citizens every year many times the amount of the tariff revenues, and gives them woe and destruction instead of benefit for the tribute of millions they pay him.

Space forbids that we enter extensively into this subject, or that we should call upon the hosts of prohibition orators, whose burning words have fired the hearts of this nation, to speak in these pages and tell us why they fear and hate the liquor traffic. We let one quotation, and that not from a member of the Prohibition Party, stand for all. Read it, and see if you do not want to vote the Prohibition ticket.

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### WHY I HATE THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

BY GOVERNOR J. FRANK HANLY, OF INDIANA.

Governor Hanly, of Indiana, is a Republican, and was prominent in the Chicago convention in June. But he is an ardent temperance advocate, and in all but party name is a prohibitionist. The following speech was delivered in 1908, and is one of the strongest moral arguments against the liquor traffic:

"Personally, I have seen so much of the evils of the liquor traffic in the last four years, so much of its economic waste, so much of its physical ruin, so much of its mental blight, so much of its tears and heartache, that I have come to regard the business as one that must be held and controlled by strong and effective laws. I bear no malice toward those engaged in the business, but I hate the traffic. I hate its every phase. I hate it for its intolerance. I hate it for its arrogance. I hate it for its hypocrisy. I hate it for its cant and craft and false pretense. I hate it for its commercialism. I hate it for its greed and avarice. I hate it for its sordid love of gain at any price.

"I hate it for its domination in politics. I hate it for its corrupt-

ing influence in civic affairs. I hate it for its incessant effort to debauch the suffrage of the country, for the cowards it makes of public men. I hate it for its utter disregard of law. I hate it for its ruthless trampling of the solemn compacts of State constitutions.

"I hate it for the load it straps to labor's back, for the palsied hands it gives to toil, for its wounds to genius, for the tragedies of its might-have-beens. I hate it for the human wrecks it has caused. I hate it for the almshouses it peoples, for the prisons it fills, for the insanity it begets, for its countless graves in potters' fields.

"I hate it for the mental ruin it imposes upon its victims, for its spiritual blight, for its moral degradation. I hate it for the crimes it has committed. I hate it for the homes it has destroyed. I hate it for the hearts it has broken. I hate it for the malice it has planted in the hearts of men—for its poison, for its bitterness—for the Dead Sea fruit with which it starves their souls.

"I hate it for the grief it causes womanhood—the scalding tears, the hopes deferred, the strangled aspirations, its burden of want and care.

"I hate it for its heartless cruelty to the aged, the infirm and the helpless, for the shadow it throws upon the lives of children, for its monstrous injustice to blameless little ones.

"I hate it as virtue hates vice, as truth hates error, as righteousness hates sin, as justice hates wrong, as liberty hates tyranny, as freedom hates oppression.

"I hate it as Abraham Lincoln hated slavery. And as he sometimes saw in prophetic vision the end of slavery and the coming of the time when the sun should shine and the rain should fall upon no slave in all the republic, so I sometimes seem to see the end of this unholy traffic, the coming of the time when, if it does not wholly cease to be, it shall find no safe habitation anywhere beneath 'Old Glory's' stainless stars."

#### THE NATIONAL ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM.

From the above personal view of one reflecting the views of millions, let us turn to the national aspect of the problem, for this is a national campaign, and in the light of these suggestions make up our minds to vote for or against the nation's enemy.

The legalized drink traffic is not the saloon alone. The political

vision of the average good citizen does not see beyond the grog shop in his town or neighborhood. The saloon is only a small part of this national evil. The dram shops are now largely controlled or owned by the brewery. To attack the individual saloon is good, but to close the brewery is better. It is far better to outlaw 2,000 breweries and as many distilleries than to attempt to close 200,000 dram shops one at a time. We cannot assail the individual saloon without drawing out the reserve power of the brewery. He who thinks this is a local question should open his eyes and see the nations of the civilized world grappling with this deadly foe.

#### CITIZENSHIP NATION WIDE.

The citizen's first duty is to his country rather than to the State or county. He is proud to be an American citizen. What concerns the welfare and morality of the people in one section concerns all. What is good for one town in exalting public morality should be shared by all. Polygamy at first was a local evil, then a county question, a State issue, a federal problem. It concerned the morals of the people, endangering the whole social fabric, and if wrong for one section was wrong everywhere. Squatter sovereignty was local option on the slavery question. Chains on any man, white or black, was just as wrong in one town, county or State as any other. It was a moral question and hence a national issue. Polygamy was outlawed finally by the national government. Slavery, no longer a State issue, was driven from the land, but not before it shook the foundation of the republic.

#### PROTECTED BY FEDERAL LAW.

The liquor traffic is not only entrenched in appetite, not only in avarice, but in national law and national politics. The associations of distillers, brewers and wholesale and retail dealers are banded together for the protection of their business. They hold the rod of terror over the trembling heads of the politicians in both great parties. The liquor men are about equally divided between the two parties, except when they desire to punish a party that has refused to do its bidding, then they stand together and their enemy goes down into crushing defeat. If non-partisan sentiment is able to get a paper law through these parties it meets the fate of the civil service or anti-polygamy laws



secured by pressure of sentiment and enacted as a statute, and becomes a football between the parties, each charging the other with the hypocrisy of which each knows it is guilty.

#### NATION'S ENEMY.

The drink traffic is the nation's greatest enemy. The whole system of license endangers our country and threatens our peace and prosperity. The words of Shakespeare well apply: "Why man he doth bestride the narrow world like a Colossus and we petty men walk under his huge legs and peek about to find ourselves dishonorable graves." "If destruction be our lot," said Abraham Lincoln, "we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen we must live through all time or die by suicide." This governmental policy is rapidly ruining our citizens and blighting our homes. The saloon is bad everywhere and we have no right to permit any city or State to debauch its citizens. The United States Supreme Court has declared: "No legislature can bargain away the public health or public morals. The people themselves cannot do it, much less their servants. Government is organized with a view to their preservation." It is clearly a national evil, fostered and protected by the federal government.

#### ALL VOTERS STOCKHOLDERS.

Every distillery, brewery and saloon must have a federal license before its doors can swing open for business. Uncle Sam last year collected about \$185,000,000 revenue from this institution. Every voter shared in the profits, as this vast sum went into the treasury of the American Government, which is only a corporation with all voters as stockholders. The stockholders are controlled by factions or parties, and parties run the government. Both old parties are committed to the license party regulating the liquor traffic. The party candidate is our agent. The party is our agent. The government that issues the license is our agent. The brewer who manufactures the poison is our agent, and the rum seller who sells it is our agent. The keys of all distilleries and breweries are in the hands of our agents; and our agents, when we say so, will change the policy, and not before.

#### YOUR DUTY TO SPEAK AT THE BALLOT BOX.

The government is made up of individuals. The will of the majority is the policy in force. For forty years thousands of Christian

citizens have been voting for license. In the spring they vote against it, but in the fall they give Uncle Sam permission to license blind pig keepers in their town or saloon keepers in the next town. How is the government to know that we are against the partnership in the liquor business unless we protest against our country manufacturing drunkards and gathering in blood money from the victims of the curse. It can never be legalized without sin. Is it not sin to vote for license or a party that sustains license and continues the life of the saloon? On the judgment day we will have to answer for our part in sustaining this iniquity. On election day you will vote for four more years of the liquor traffic, or will vote against it. Which shall it be?

#### AN APPEAL TO CHURCH MEMBERS.

Rev. Silas C. Swallow, prohibition candidate for President in 1904, urges church members to support the prohibition cause. "Let us look for a moment," he says, "at what the man of the world sees in the church members' attitude toward this greatest of all political issues. He sees millions of churchmen led by ministers passing resolutions to the effect that 'no political party should receive the support of Christian men so long as it fails to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the liquor traffic,' and then 90 per cent of these same ministers and members voting for parties not thus on record as hostile to but as in accord with the promotion of the liquor business. He sees this Christian government in profit-sharing partnership with the business that, according to Gladstone, creates more misery than war, pestilence and famine combined. He sees nearly two billions spent for intoxicants and caring for their results, which is three times the capital stock of all the national banks. For every dollar in revenue received by the government it costs the taxpayer sixteen to care for its results.

"He sees a large proportion of the breweries, distilleries, saloons, brothels and low-down theatres owned by professedly Christian men and women. And he holds the Church responsible for the liquor traffic, for against all its crimes he sees a church vote which, if cast solidly in one election for candidates pledged to destroy the liquor traffic, would beget such a rivalry between political parties to secure this vote as would annihilate the traffic in a very short time."

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### THE FORUM OF THE CANDIDATES.

BRIEF ADDRESSES BY TAFT, BRYAN, CHAFIN, DEBS, WATSON AND GRAVES.

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In the previous chapters of this work the principles and claims of each particular party have been set forth with such fullness in the accounts of the conventions, the platforms and the keynote speeches that it is hardly necessary to do more here than to refer the reader to the later speeches and letters of acceptance published broadcast in the newspapers immediately they were given utterance. These speeches and letters may now be had, each in its completeness, free of charge, by writing to the National Campaign Committees of the respective parties, the address of which any local party organization can furnish. These acceptance speeches and letters really constitute "the forum of the candidates," since they contain each Presidential candidate's personal discussion of the principles and issues before the nation in the campaign of 1908, as endorsed by their own and the other parties. In view of the above, and also since it would consume more space than could possibly be allotted to include them complete in this volume, the purpose of this chapter is, first, to refer the reader to the sources from which he may obtain them, without cost to himself, and, second, to insert the following extract from a few of the many subjects discussed at length by the candidates:

#### REPUBLICAN DOCTRINE OF PROTECTION AND THE REVISION OF THE TARIFF.

BY WILLIAM H. TAFT.

The Republican doctrine of protection, as definitely announced by the Republican convention of this year and by previous conventions, is that a tariff shall be imposed on all important products, whether of the factory, farm or mine, sufficiently great to equal the



difference between the cost of production abroad and at home, and that this difference should, of course, include the difference between the higher wages paid in this country and the wages paid abroad and embrace a reasonable profit to the American producer. A system of protection thus adopted and put in force has led to the establishment of a rate of wages here that has greatly enhanced the standard of living of the laboring man. It is the policy of the Republican Party permanently to continue that standard of living. In 1897 the Dingley Tariff Bill was passed, under which we have had, as already said, a period of enormous prosperity.

#### NECESSITY FOR REVISION OF TARIFF.

The consequent material development has greatly changed the conditions under which many articles described by the schedules of the tariff are now produced. The tariff in a number of schedules exceeds the difference between the cost of production of such articles abroad and at home, including a reasonable profit to the American producer. The excess over that difference serves no useful purpose, but offers a temptation to those who would monopolize the production and the sale of such articles in this country, to profit by the excessive rate. On the other hand, there are other schedules in which the tariff is not sufficiently high to give the measure of protection which they should receive upon Republican principles, and as to those the tariff should be raised. A revision of the tariff undertaken upon this principle, which is at the basis of our present business system, begun promptly upon the incoming of the new administration, and considered at a special session with the preliminary investigations already begun by the appropriate committees of the House and Senate, will make the disturbance of business incident to such a change as little as possible.

#### DEMOCRATIC TARIFF PLAN AND ITS BAD EFFECT ON BUSINESS CONDITIONS.

The Democratic Party in its platform has not had the courage of its previous convictions on the subject of the tariff, denounced by it in 1904 as a system of the robbery of the many for the benefit of the few, but it does declare its intention to change the tariff with a view to reaching a revenue basis and thus to depart from the protective

system. The introduction into power of a party with this avowed purpose cannot but halt the gradual recovery from our recent financial depression and produce business disaster compared with which our recent panic and depression will seem small indeed.

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### COMBINATIONS AND TRUSTS.

BY WILLIAM H. TAFT.

The combination of capital in large plants to manufacture goods with the greatest economy is just as necessary as the assembling of the parts of a machine to the economical and more rapid manufacture of what in old times was made by hand. The Government should not interfere with one any more than the other, and when such aggregations of capital are legitimate and are properly controlled, for they are then the natural results of modern enterprise and are beneficial to the public. In the proper operation of competition the public will soon share with the manufacturer the advantage in economy of operation and lower prices.

### WHAT IS AN UNLAWFUL TRUST?

When, however, such combinations are not based on any economic principle but are made merely for the purpose of controlling the market, to maintain or raise prices, restrict output and drive out competitors, the public derives no benefit and we have a monopoly. There must be some use by the company of the comparatively great size of its capital and plant and extent of its output, either to coerce persons to buy of it rather than of some competitor or to coerce those who would compete with it to give up their business. There must usually, in other words, be shown an element of duress in the conduct of its business toward the customers in the trade and its competitors before mere aggregation of capital or plant becomes an unlawful monopoly. It is perfectly conceivable that in the interest of economy of production a great number of plants may be legitimately assembled under the ownership of one corporation. It is important, therefore, that such large aggregations of capital and combination should be controlled so that the public may have the advantage of reasonable prices and that the avenues of enterprise may be kept open to the individual and the smaller corporation wishing to engage in business.

## MERE AGGREGATION OF CAPITAL NOT A VIOLATION OF ANTI-TRUST LAW.

In a country like this, where, in good times, there is an enormous floating capital awaiting investment, the period before which effective competition, by construction of new plants, can be introduced into any business, is comparatively short, rarely exceeding a year, and is usually even less than that. Existence of actual plant is not, therefore, necessary to potential competition. Many enterprises have been organized on the theory that mere aggregation of all, or nearly all, existing plants in a line of manufacture, without regard to economy of production, destroys competition. They have, most of them, gone into bankruptcy. Competition in a profitable business will not be affected by the mere aggregation of many existing plants under one company, unless the company thereby effects great economy, the benefit of which it shares with the public, or takes some illegal method to avoid competition and to perpetuate a hold on the business.

## PROPER TREATMENT OF TRUSTS.

Unlawful trusts should be restrained with all the efficiency of injunctive process, and the persons engaged in maintaining them should be punished with all the severity of criminal prosecution, in order that the methods pursued in the operation of their business shall be brought within the law. To destroy them and to eliminate the wealth they represent from the producing capital of the country would entail enormous loss, and would throw out of employment myriads of workingmen and working women. Such a result is wholly unnecessary to the accomplishment of the needed reform, and will inflict upon the innocent far greater punishment than upon the guilty.

## DESTRUCTIVE POLICY OF DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The Democratic platform does not propose to destroy the plants of the trusts physically, but it proposes to do the same thing in a different way. The business of this country is largely dependent on a protective system of tariffs. The business done by many of the so-called "trusts" is protected with the other businesses of the country. The Democratic platform proposes to take off the tariff on all articles coming into competition with those produced by the so-called "trusts,"



and to put them on the free list. If such a course would be utterly destructive of their business, as is intended, it would not only destroy the trusts, but all of their smaller competitors. The ruthless and impracticable character of the proposition grows plainer as its effects upon the whole community are realized.

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### THE TARIFF QUESTION.

BY WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

There is a fundamental difference between a revenue tariff and a protective tariff. A revenue tariff is so laid as to collect revenue, and you stop when you get enough. A protective tariff may be so laid as to burden the people far in excess of the tax collector, and you never know when to stop. A protective tariff is framed by the manufacturers, and experience has shown that they exaggerate their needs and disregard the interest of those who pay the taxes. The low tariff of 1846 was so satisfactory that when the Republican Party was organized ten years later the principle of protection was not mentioned in the platform. During the Civil War the tariff was raised to secure revenue to carry on the war; but when the war closed, the high tariff was continued on the theory that the infant industries needed it until they could stand on their feet; but after a while the infant industries grew so large that they could not only stand on their own feet, but walk all over the feet of other people. Then the protectionists declared that the tariff must be continued as a permanent thing, but that it should be only high enough to cover the difference in the cost of production here and abroad. Under the pretense that they were framing such a tariff, the manufacturers have been collecting about twice as much on an average as the entire cost of production; and while they have been charging high prices at home, they have been in many cases selling abroad in competition with the world.

All recognize now that the tariff must be revised. The only question is, Who shall revise it? Our answer is that the tariff revision must come from those who have suffered, and not from those who have profited by the high tariff. The fact that the Republicans, now in complete control of the Government, refused to allow any revision whatever at the last session of Congress, under the plea that it was

better to postpone tariff reform until after the next election, is proof conclusive that they cannot be trusted to respond to the growing demand for the reduction of import duties.

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### THE LABOR QUESTION.

BY WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

In a broad sense every public question is a labor question, for the wage earner constitutes so large a proportion of our population that he is affected by every governmental problem. There are, however, some questions in which the laboring man is especially interested, and among these three may be named—the eight-hour day, the settlement of labor disputes, and government by injunction.

The demand for an eight-hour day is a just demand, for the laboring man is a part of society and a citizen, as well as a worker. He is entitled to the comforts of home, and he must prepare himself for a diligent discharge of his civic duties. If the laboring man is driven from his couch to his task and from his task back to his bed again, he cannot properly meet the responsibilities which rest upon him as a citizen.

The second question relates to the settlement of differences between labor and capital. That there should be some method of conciliation all must admit. Society at large is interested scarcely less than employer and employee in the harmonious co-operation of labor and capital in the production of the nation's wealth, and this harmonious co-operation is possible only on the basis of justice.

What is known as government by injunction is merely a device employed to avoid a trial by jury. The right of trial by jury is so sacred that it cannot be taken away from the meanest criminal. Why should it be denied to the wage earner, who has never been convicted of a crime? At first this subject was little understood, but now the people are so well informed upon it that they are prepared to insist that in contempt cases the defendant shall be allowed a jury when the alleged contempt is committed outside the presence of the court. The Republican platform and candidates do not endorse this view. It was defeated by a large majority in their convention. They would uphold "the dignity of the courts." The Democratic platform on the con-

trary declares for the rights of the people, whose servants the courts are in the just administration of the laws.

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### HOPE OF EMANCIPATION FROM RUM RULE.

BY EUGENE W. CHAFIN.

When Lincoln took the oath of office five former Presidents were living. They did nothing to help him in the great struggle which resulted in the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. They were the representatives of two dominant political parties, Whig and Democratic, which for about fifty years opposed the bringing of any great new question into the political arena.

We are now approaching the close of another fifty years where two dominant political parties, Republican and Democratic, have allied themselves with the most gigantic crime that ever cursed the world,—the legalized liquor traffic—and it is our patriotic duty, even though the majority may favor it, to destroy the liquor traffic and add another amendment to the Constitution, which would mark the highest achievement of civilization in the world's history.

If one or more political parties are to be kept in power twenty-five or fifty years, each succeeding administration carrying out the policy of the past, and refusing to enact into law the progress attained, then such party or parties have turned our democracy into despotism.

We are dangerously near that condition of things in the pending Presidential campaign. The attempt made by the Republican and Democratic parties to create a fictitious issue is the most farcical in our history, in the face of the fact that during the past four years the question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic has attracted wider attention of the press and the people than all other public issues combined.

The calm thought and common sense of the moral citizenship have pronounced sentence of death upon the liquor traffic, and the only thing that stays its execution is the protecting care of these two old political parties, kept alive by blind political party prejudice.

### LINCOLN CALLED AS WITNESS.

To show that these parties are wrong and that the Prohibition Party is right, I will call but one witness. He was the greatest man who lived in the nineteenth century—Abraham Lincoln. He made five



speeches in his lifetime, which constituted his political creed. One of them was upon the liquor question, for he was a total abstainer and a prohibitionist. At Springfield, Ill., February 2, 1842, he said:

"The demon of intemperance ever seems to have delighted in sucking the blood of genius and generosity. He ever seems to have gone forth, like the Egyptian angel of death, commissioned to slay if not the first, the fairest born of every family. To all the living everywhere we cry, Come! sound the moral resurrection trump. Of our political revolution of '76 we are all justly proud. . . . Turn now to the temperance revolution; in it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed. In it more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. . . . And when the victory shall be complete—when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on the earth—how proud the title of that land, which may truly claim to be the birthplace and the cradle of both those revolutions."

I have studied the platforms of all other political parties. Ours gives the voter the only opportunity he will have this year to cast his ballot against the liquor traffic, and for other reforms being earnestly demanded by the American people. The lofty ideals of twentieth century statesmanship calls for a United States Senate born of an intelligent people's conscience; the development of the trusts has changed entirely all the old theories of a protective tariff and free trade, and the people demand legislation in their interest on this important matter, which can best be worked out by a permanent tariff commission. We are the only party that strikes a blow at the social evil, so closely allied to the liquor traffic.

While not a line of history will be changed by the election of a Republican or Democrat, the triumph of the Prohibition Party and the placing of its platform in the Constitution and upon the statute book will write the longest, brightest, purest and most beneficent chapter of history that has marked the progress of civilization since governments were instituted among men.

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### WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

There are those who sneeringly class socialism among the "isms" that appear and disappear as passing fads, and pretend to dismiss it

with an impatient wave of the hand. But the philosophers and deep thinkers of the world are giving it their most serious thought.

To the workingman in particular it is important to know what socialism is and what it means.

Let us endeavor to make it so clear to him that he will readily grasp it and the moment he does he becomes a socialist.

It is our conviction that no workingman can clearly understand what socialism means without becoming and remaining a socialist. It is simply impossible for him to be anything else, and the only reason that all workingmen are not socialists is that they do not know what it means.

They have heard of socialism—and they have heard of anarchy and of other things all mixed together—and without going to any trouble about it they conclude that it is all the same thing and a good thing to let alone.

Why? Because the capitalist editor has said so; the politician has sworn to it, and the preacher has said amen to it, and surely that ought to settle it.

But it doesn't. It settles but one thing, and that is that the capitalist is opposed to socialism and that the editor and politician and preacher are but the voices of the capitalist. There are some exceptions, but not enough to affect the rule.

Socialism is first of all a political movement of the working class, clearly defined and uncompromising, which aims at the overthrow of the prevailing capitalist system by securing control of the national government and by the exercise of the public powers, supplanting the existing capitalist class government with socialist administration—that is to say, changing a republic in name into a republic in fact.

Socialism also means a coming phase of civilization, next in order to the present one, in which the collective people will own and operate the sources and means of wealth production, in which all will have equal right to work and all will co-operate together in producing wealth and all will enjoy all the fruit of their collective labor.

In the present system of society, called the capitalist system, since it is controlled by and supported in the interest of the capitalist class, we have two general classes of people; first, capitalists, and, second, workers. The capitalists are few, the workers are many. Socialism means that the capitalists shall become workers, shall cease

to be a power; that the workers shall own and control the machinery and the products, and that labor shall get all the fruits of labor; and that we shall have a co-operative system instead of a competitive system. This alone can make men free.

Socialism does not expect to win in the campaign of 1908. But it does expect to poll the largest vote in the history of the party; and it must ultimately win not only here but throughout the world. Because it is right. It is the doctrine of the brotherhood of man and the emancipation of the race.

Taft will be elected, not because Bryan is not considered safe by the capitalists, but because the capitalists do not care to longer associate themselves with the dying middle class. Meantime socialism is growing by leaps and bounds.

The magazines are printing all they can get on socialism, and one wants an interview with me for its October number, to answer the question, "What is the matter with America?"

We will poll a larger vote this year than even the socialists think, for the enforced idleness of the working class has driven them to action, and their action will be expressed this year at the ballot box.

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### THE MONEY QUESTION.

BY THOMAS E. WATSON.

Last fall there was a panic, in spite of the fact that we had a greater amount of material wealth than ever before. Bankruptcy went stalking through the land, and the cry of distress rang from sea to sea. J. P. Morgan was Commander-in-Chief of the Wall Street "patriots" who forced the panic, last fall, just as he was in 1893; and to Morgan, Roosevelt's administration virtually said, as Mr. Cleveland had said in 1893: "If nothing else but bonds will do you, come and get the bonds!"

What brought on the panic of 1907? The volume of real money has been so greatly lessened, in comparison to the country's need for money, that it is not difficult to "corner" the available supply. New York did this last fall. Credits of all sorts had been recklessly extended, and when real money was needed, New York was found to be in possession of it, and New York held on to it. Neither banks nor individuals could get back their own money from New York without



paying an extortionate price for it. How could the situation have been relieved?

The government should have broken the New York corner on money by issuing its own treasury notes—just as Andrew Jackson did in 1837.

When the British were being led into that death trap at New Orleans in 1815 and their whole campaign was falling into wreck and ruin, one of the generals who had served under the Duke of Wellington in Portugal and Spain, cried out: "Oh, for an hour of the old Duke!"

There have been at least two occasions when the American people might have cried: "Oh, for an hour of the grim warrior who made that British general feel the need of the old Duke! Oh, for an hour of Andrew Jackson!"

One of the occasions was when, in 1893, a so-called Democratic President exclaimed in dismay: "My God, Oates, the bankers have got the Government by the leg!"

The other time was last winter, when the Secretary of the Treasury was handing out those Panama bonds—a violation of law for which he ought to have been impeached, just as Mr. Carlisle should have been impeached, in 1893, when the "endless chain" was filling Wall Street's ravenous maw with unlawfully issued bonds!

By Treasury rulings and by acts of Congress our money system has been revolutionized. The system of the Constitution has been set aside. The Government has been made to abdicate one of its most important functions. It would not be more dangerous to delegate to private individuals the right to declare war and make treaties than it is to delegate the power to control the creation and distribution of the national currency.

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## HOPE OF POPULISM IN THE INDEPENDENCE PARTY.

BY JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES.

NOTE.—John Temple Graves, the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Independence Party, and Thos. E. Watson, running as the People's Party candidate for President, are both popular Georgians. In Chapter XXIV will be found an extract from Mr. Watson's attack on the Independence Party, accusing them of appropriating the People's Party principles. The following is a part of Mr. Graves' answer to Mr. Watson:

It is, to say the least, ungracious in Mr. Watson to speak of the Independents as a one-man party. He has made of the Populists far more a one-man party than the Independents have ever been or will

ever be. He has been as many times the defeated candidate of the Populists as Mr. Bryan has been of the Democrats. He seems to be by the official records the one man in it—as absolute as Roosevelt, as dictatorial as Bryan—and as unsuccessful as the last.

He prescribes its tenets, dictates its policies in things personal and otherwise, and is invariably named as its candidate.

There has not been in fifty years a convention freer from the boss and the steam roller than the one just adjourned. Mr. Hearst was three thousand miles across the sea during all the preliminaries that led up to it.

No fair and truthful man can deny to the Independence convention the merit of a freedom worthy of its name.

And it was as representative as it was free. Of the seven hundred delegates present from all sections there were not a dozen men directly or indirectly connected with the Hearst newspapers.

I am perfectly sure that Mr. Watson in his eager criticism speaks for himself and not for the Populists. There is no discounting the character and purpose of that great old party. There was never an honester and truer political organization in America. They bettered the entire tone of the political era in which they flourished.

But the brave old "Pops" have shot their arrow now, and should fall in with new friends under a new and larger name. They have gone down under Mr. Watson's leadership in successive Presidential years, steadily losing their numbers but never their integrity.

In the last national campaign they polled about 114,000 votes!

The Independence Party polled twice that number in the city of New York alone!

The hope of the Populist Party is in the Independence Party, as, beyond the diminishing few who cling to the fortune of Mr. Watson, the majority of these brave and honest men are falling into line behind this young militant and soon to be triumphant party of the people.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### FUN OF THE CAMPAIGNS.

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#### TOASTS, SONGS, JOKES, PARTY HITS AND ANECDOTES.

Every campaign gives rise to a number of jokes, toasts and party hits that are not only pleasing literature, but have their bearing and influence upon the issues at hand and their place in campaign history. Therefore, we devote a section of this work to such a collection as has particularly struck the fancy of the editor. They have entertained him and he inserts them here as a sort of scrap-book collection for the entertainment rather than for the edification of his readers.

While the spoils belong to the victors, there is a certain courtesy and consideration due to those who made a brave fight for the principles they believed in but did not win; therefore, we begin this collection with:

#### A TOAST TO THE "ALSO RANS."

Ye have drunk, O my friends, to the victors,  
Ye have toasted the valiant and strong;  
To the great of the earth ye have drunk in your mirth,  
To the wise ye have lifted your song.  
It is well—they are worthy, my brothers,  
As aught that the firmament spans,  
But I pledge you a health to the others—  
A health to the "also rans."

To the men who went down in the struggle,  
To the runners who finished unplaced,  
To the weak and the young, the unknown, the unsung,  
The depraved, the oppressed, the disgraced.  
Ye are blooded, developed, completed;  
They were bred without stamina, class;  
'Tis to them, the surpassed, the defeated,  
I bow as I drain my glass.





HON. GEORGE GRAY, OF DELAWARE.



WILLIAM H. BERRY, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Who are ye that should dare to reject them?  
Do ye know what the handicaps weighed?  
Did ye suffer the pain, run the race, stand the strain,  
That ye scoff at the pace that they made?  
It may be that they ran overweighted,  
It may be they were left at the post—  
Far or near, 'tis to them, the ill-fated,  
I bow as I drink my toast.

They have lost, they are ill, they are weary:  
Ye have won, ye are well, ye are strong.  
By the drops that they bled, by the tears that they shed,  
By your mirth, by your wine, by your song,  
By all that has e'er helped to sweeten  
Your lives, by your hopes, by your plans,  
I pledge you the health of the beaten,  
The health of the "also rans."

—*Francis Lyman Windolph, in To-day and other Poems.*

#### FRANKLIN'S TOAST AT THE COURT OF FRANCE.

They lifted their glasses and one said: "I give you the King of France, and I will call him the Sun; and I give you the King of England, and call him the Moon;" and then, turning to Franklin, he said: "What will you do for a toast, with the sun and moon already engaged?" Franklin raised his glass, and said: "I cannot give you the sun, or the moon, or the stars, nor call my country such, but I give you the United States, and call them Joshua, the son of Nun, who made the sun and the moon and the stars to stand still as long as he pleased."—*Rev. H. M. Gallaher.*

#### WHAT LIBERTY IS.

Years ago there was an insurrection in Massachusetts. There were thousands of men in arms against the State authorities. One of the leaders, Luke Day, thus spoke at Springfield: "My boys," said he, "they talk to you about liberty; they tell you that liberty means the right to do what you have a mind to do. That is not liberty. Liberty is the right to make other folks do what you want to have them do."—*James W. Beckman.*



## GUARANTEERING BANK DEPOSITS IN CHINA.

In these days of disordered finance it might be well to investigate the system in vogue in China. It is nine hundred years since the failure of a bank in China. Over nine hundred years ago, in the reign of Hi Hung, a bank failed. Hi Hung had the failure investigated, and to his indignation found it had been due to reckless and shady conduct on the part of the directors and president. Hi Hung at once issued an edict that the next time a bank failed the heads of its president and directors were to be cut off. This edict, which has never been revoked, has made China's banking institutions the safest in the world. How would it do for some of our enterprising politicians to start a new party taking for its main issue the Chinese method of guaranteeing bank deposits?

## MUSIC IN POLITICS.

In recent campaigns there has not been much music of a personal character, but the present contest promises to revive the old custom. Governor Haskell, of Oklahoma, was reported in August, 1908, to have said: "I care not who writes the platforms, if I am permitted to write the songs." He accordingly called back the muse, who had lent him fame as a schoolboy verse writer, and has written two songs that special singers will render in the campaign. One of them is entitled "Bryan the Nation's Defender," and the other "Bill Bryan's the People's Choice." Songs and jokes have their power. Senator "Bob" Taylor is commonly accredited with "fiddling and singing and story-telling his way into the Governorship of Tennessee and the Senate of the United States."

Sixty-eight years ago the followers of William Henry Harrison sang him into the White House. The Hutchinson Family did a lot of singing for the Republicans in 1856 and 1860. But the old timers outdid the moderns, if not in elegance of verse, at least in the rough-hewn significance of the words, as are shown by the following:

## SAMPLES OF OLD TIME CAMPAIGN SONGS.

One of the earliest campaign songs was composed by the Jeffersonians in 1800, and ran:

"The Federalists are down at last,  
The Monarchists completely cast!

The Aristocrats are stripped of power,  
Storms o'er the British faction lower,  
Soon we Republicans shall see  
Columbia's sons from bondage free!  
Lord! how the Federalists will stare  
At Jefferson in Adams' chair!"

During the campaign of 1840 the feeling ran high between the two political parties. The contest was between Martin Van Buren, nicknamed "Martin the First," and the Indian fighter, William Henry Harrison, and the latter's following had numerous spicy songs to appeal to the public. One goes to the tune of "Yankee Doodle:"

"That Matty loves the workingman,  
No workingman can doubt, sirs;  
For well he doth pursue the place  
That turns the workers out, sirs.

"He turns them out of Whig employ,  
He turns them out of bread, sirs;  
And middlemen doth he annoy  
By striking business dead, sirs!

"For Matty is a Democrat,  
Sing Yankee Doodle Dandy!  
With spoons of gold and English coach,  
And servants always handy!"

The most famous of Harrison's songs was that called "Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too," which ran:

"What has caused this commotion, motion, motion,  
Our country through?  
It is the ball a-rolling on, for Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!  
And with them we will beat Van!  
Van! Van! The used-up man!

"Let them talk about hard cider, cider, cider,  
And log cabins, too—  
It will only help speed the ball for Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!  
Van! Van! Van!  
You're not our man!"

"UP SALT RIVER."

The expression, "Up Salt River," which was often used in former days to describe political defeat, owes its origin to a river of that name, a branch of the Ohio running through Kentucky. When Henry Clay was running against Jackson in 1832 he employed a boatman to row him up the Ohio toward Louisville, where he was to make an important political speech. The boatman was an adherent of Jackson, and he missed his way accidentally, on purpose, and rowed Clay up Salt River, and, therefore, Clay did not reach Louisville in time and was defeated. This term was made use of in the campaign of 1840 in this song:

"Our vessel is ready, we cannot delay,  
For Harrison's coming and we must away—  
Up Salt River! Up Salt River!  
Up Salt River; Oh, high-ho!"

HENRY CLAY AND THE FULL DINNER PAIL.

The full dinner pail was much in evidence in the Polk-Clay political fight as it was during McKinley's two campaigns. Clay's friends gave the toast:

"Here's health to the workingman's friends!  
Here's good luck to the plow and the loom!  
Him who will not join in support of our cause  
May light dinners and ill-luck illumine!"

ROUGH AND READY.

In the campaign of 1848 the partisans of "Old Rough and Ready," as Zachary Taylor was nicknamed, sounded this slogan:

"Clear the track if your toes are tender,  
For honest Zach can never surrender."

THE WHIG'S SONG OF 1840.

At one time the Whig Party called itself "the same old 'coon" that carried the country in 1840, and used the song:

"The moon was shining silver bright,  
The stars with glory crowned the night,



High on a limb that 'same old 'coon'  
 Was singing to himself this tune:  
 Get out of my way—you're all unlucky!  
 Clear the track for old Kentucky!"

But when the Polk forces won they turned the tables by chanting this parody:

"Not a cheer was heard—not a single shot,  
 As away to a ditch they hurried;  
 No bank-paid orator rose to spout  
 O'er the hole where the 'coon was buried.

"So rapidly tumbling him all alone,  
 With his tail's wounded stump quite gory,  
 They raised a faint shout, 'twixt a cheer and a groan  
 And left him alone in his glory!"

#### BUCHANAN'S CAMPAIGN SONGS.

James Buchanan, often called "the Government hack," had to suffer much abuse from his political opponents, who hesitated at nothing when trying to defeat him. One of their songs ran:

"The dough! the dough! the facial dough!  
 The nose that yields when you tweak it so!  
 It sighs for the spoils—it sells its soul  
 For a spoonful of pap from the Treasury bowl."

But Buchanan's friends came back at his enemies in this song:

"When Fremont raised a flag so high  
 On Rocky Mountains' peak,  
 One little busy bee did fly,  
 And light upon his cheek.

"But when November's ides arrive  
 To greet the Colonel's sight,  
 Straight from the Democratic hive  
 Two B's on him will light—  
 Buch and Breck."

## CRUEL TO FILLMORE.

Millard Fillmore, who had been an accidental President, desired to be an elected one, but he was extremely unpopular, as this song testifies, and was defeated:

"There lives a man in Buffalo,  
His name is Millard Fillmore,  
Who thinks the Union's sunk so low  
It ought to take one pill more  
To purge away the 'prejudice'  
Which true men have for freedom.  
A canting, pompous wretch he is,  
Who'll cheat you if you heed him."

## LINCOLN AND YANKEE DOODLE.

Lincoln did not escape the campaign poets, for at that time feeling ran high. This song, to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," was very popular:

"Lincoln came to Washington  
To view the situation,  
And found the world all upside down,  
A rumpus in the nation.  
'He heard the Secesh laugh to scorn,  
And call him but a noodle.  
'Laugh on,' he cried, 'as sure's you're born,  
I still am Yankee Doodle!'"

## DEFIANCE TO ANDREW JOHNSON.

When Andrew Johnson went to lay the cornerstone of the monument erected to the memory of Stephen A. Douglas, he made political speeches instead of returning to Washington, in the hope that he could stir up interest in his boom for Presidential candidate. This made his enemies very angry, and they sang this song all over the country. It is on the tune of "Just Before the Battle, Mother:"

"Just before the battle, Andy,  
We are thinking most of you,  
While we get our ballots ready—  
But, be sure, they're not for you!

"No, dear Andy, you'll not get there,  
But you'll get what you deserve;  
Oh, yes, you'll get your leave of absence,  
As you swing around the curve!

"You have swung around the circle;  
That you ought to swing 'tis true;  
Oh, you tried to veto Congress,  
But I guess we'll veto you!"

#### MARTIAL STRAINS FOR GRANT.

Grant's campaign songs, as was natural, all had a martial strain, and people's patriotism was worked up to a high pitch by the songs circulated by his friends. It was Miles O'Reilly who wrote the most popular and catchy one, and it is from this song that Roscoe Conkling took the lines when placing General Grant's name before the convention. It is called, "Come, Fill Your Glasses, Fellows," and runs:

"So, boys! a bumper,  
While we all in chorus chant—  
For next President we nominate  
Our own Ulysses Grant!

"And if he asked what State he hails from,  
This our sole reply shall be:  
From near Appomattox Courthouse  
With its famous apple tree!

"For 'twas there to our Ulysses  
That Lee gave up the fight;  
Now, boys! 'To Grant for President,  
And God defend the right!"

#### GRANDFATHER'S HAT.

Benjamin Harrison, grandson of former President Harrison, was let down fairly easily by his opponents, for this is the worst song used against him:

"His grandfather's hat is too large for his head,  
But Ben tried it on, just the same;



It fits him too much, as has sometimes been said,  
 With regards to his grandfather's fame!  
 It was bought long ago, and it made a fine show,  
 In the jolly hard cider campaign;  
 But it won't fit a bit on young Ben's brain."

#### THE BRYAN SONG IN TWO CAMPAIGNS.

William Jennings Bryan has twice gone down to defeat, and in each campaign his friends used the song which they consider fits him exactly. The song is to the tune of "The Old Oaken Bucket:"

"Or, true as tried steel is our great standard bearer,  
 So noble, so fearless, frank, candid and just;  
 To friends and to foes where's the man could be fairer,  
 And straight from the shoulder he makes a home thrust;  
 So plain and so clear is his argumentation  
 The mists of false logic he soon can dispel,  
 A man without peer 'mong the men of the nation,  
 Our William J. Bryan we all love so well.

Refrain: "Our William J. Bryan,  
 Our great Jennings Bryan;  
 This peerless man Bryan  
 We all love so well!"

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#### CAMPAIGN OF 1908.

##### NAMING BABIES FOR THE CANDIDATES.

Baby naming for the candidates began early. The first name, William, standing for both Mr. Bryan and Mr. Taft, is now a great favorite with fond parents. Hence, there promises to be an unprecedented crop of "Bills" in the next generation, following the army of "Theodores."

One mother, however, who has a soft spot in her heart for the Secretary, hesitated to name her boy after him, because she feared the Taft part would be vernacularized into "Taffy," and she hates nicknames. In her uncertainty she wrote the following letter:

"DEAR MR. TAFT:—My baby is just two weeks old and we want

to name him after you, William Taft ———, but we are just a little bit afraid to do it. If we do so the boys might get to calling him 'Taffy,' which is a very good nickname as nicknames go; but we detest them all. When you were a boy were you called 'Taffy?' If not, we will have him christened immediately. We will call him William Howard ———, if they called you 'Taffy.'"

The Secretary's reply is not recorded, but it is safe to say that the little Maryland boy will be called William Taft, for instead of being called "Taffy," the Secretary was familiarly dubbed plain "Bill."

"CALL ME BILL."

The cry of "Taft! Taft! Big Bill Taft," was a familiar slogan at the Republican convention at Chicago, and will doubtless do duty in torchlight processions throughout the campaign. The reading public is familiar with the jokes about Mr. Taft's tact in relieving the reporters' embarrassment when perplexed as to whether they should address him as Mr. Secretary, Judge, Your Honor, or what, by saying jocularly, "Anything will do, boys. Call me 'Bill.'" Mr. Bryan was quite as happy in his reply when a delegation of newspaper men told him of the incident and asked him if he too was willing to be called "Bill." "Call me anything," responded the Commoner, with his characteristic smile, "so you make my 'calling and election sure.'"

Here is a sample Columbus Glee Club song, sung to the tune of "School Days:"

"Me, Oh, My, Oh, Oh, dear old State Ohio.

Mother and trainer of Presidents.

Maker and shaper of great events.

Now we're here in 1908.

Favorite son of our great State."

Another is this one to "Budweiser, a Friend of Mine:"

"William H. Taft is a friend of mine, friend of mine, friend of mine.

What care we if the sun don't shine,

So long as we have our Billy.

Everybody is feeling so fine, feeling so fine, feeling so fine,

For President Teddy is a friend of Big Billy,

And Billy's a friend of mine."

## TAFT AND "HE."

(Poking fun at Taft.)

"Unlike his mentor bold, Taft seems  
Most diffident and shy,  
For in his modest message he  
Puts blinkers on his 'I.'

"At times the timid candidate  
With Roosevelt's name makes free,  
But evidently thinks there is  
Much virtue in a 'he.'

" 'He demonstrated,' 'he has said,'  
'He set the standard high,'

" 'He pressed to passage,' 'He secured'—  
All this without an 'I.'

"When Taft finds out the public says  
Ha-ha! to his 'He-he!'  
Perhaps he then will substitute  
The editorial 'We.' "

## THE WATER WAGON.

A Prohibition Song for 1908, by H. L. Peeke.

NOTE.—After seeing the water-wagon at the Columbus Convention, I suggested to Mr. Fillmore, who led the chorus, the idea of combining the water-wagon sentiment with the tune "Wait for the Wagon." The chorus is our joint product. The verses, such as they are, are my own. Sung to the air of "Wait for the Wagon."—H. L. PEEKE.

"Oh rise up, Mr. Voter, and vote along with me,  
To kill the liquor traffic and make this country free;  
Upon election morning I will stand by your side—  
So climb the water wagon and we'll all take a ride.

Chorus: "Wait for the wagon,  
The good old water wagon,  
The Prohibition wagon,  
And we'll all take a ride.

"The good old water wagon is coming 'round the bend,  
And of the liquor traffic it soon will see the end;  
It now can see its finish, for it cannot long abide,  
So climb the water wagon and we'll all take a ride.



"We hail the water wagon with loud resounding cheers!  
It's running over whisky and wines and gins and beers;  
The men who ride upon it are on the children's side,  
So climb the water wagon and we'll all take a ride.

"The brewers will be Chafin when they hear our candidate,  
He's got the wagon headed straight for the White House gate;  
The brewer knows he cannot head off the temp'rance tide,  
So climb the water wagon and we'll all take a ride.

"The third of next November its work will all be done,  
And when the vote is counted, at setting of the sun,  
We know our noble Chafin to Washington will guide  
The good old water wagon if we all take a ride."

WHEN LABOR RULES THE WORLD.

A Socialist Labor Song, by A. D., San José, Cal.

"Down deep in the recesses  
Of the toiler's wrinkled brain  
Dame Nature placed a pregnant hope  
That long has dormant lain,  
Through age of superstition,  
Of brutality and wrong.  
But we see the long night paling,  
And the faint red gleams of morn:  
And we know that in the dawning,  
When the shadows dark have flown,  
That the strong right arm of Labor  
Will arise and claim its own.

"Then the earth will yield her bounties  
To the conquering sons of Toil;  
Then no more shall profit mongers  
From the worker take their spoil;  
Then the slums and dens shall vanish  
And the soldiers be sent home,  
And the cannon will be melted,  
And no murder will be done.  
The sword shall turn to pruning hook  
And war will be unknown,  
And prophecy will be fulfilled.  
When Labor claims its own.

"Never more in dismal sweatshops  
Shall the child and mother ply;  
Strikes and lockouts will be over,  
People will not wish to die.  
Oh! There is a city building  
In the sturdy worker's brain;  
I see its arch and colonnade,  
That pen may not explain:  
Its minarets and sun-lit spires,  
The towers and the dome  
That shall daunt the vaulted heaven  
When Labor claims its own.

"There will be glad songs of triumph,  
There will be glad tears of joy,  
And the merriment of children  
Playing 'neath the azure sky;  
And the bells will all be ringing,  
And the red flag float the air;  
Youth and maid will trip fantastic,  
There'll be music everywhere;  
Mother Earth be filled with laughter  
At her children coming home:  
'Tis the Festival of Ages,  
When Labor claims its own.

"But you say I am a dreamer—  
Very well, so let it be;  
You have said the same of others,  
You may say the same of me.  
But behold yon Labor's army  
Everywhere throughout the earth  
Working now in all the nations—  
East and West and South and North.  
List! D'you hear that crackling rumble  
Underneath the bench and throne?  
'Tis an ominous sound that's saying  
Labor soon shall claim its own!"

**BOOK II.**

**Historical and Miscellaneous**





## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICAN PROGRESS.

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Four hundred and sixteen years ago Columbus discovered the new world. One hundred and fifteen years after his landing the first permanent settlement was established at Jamestown, Virginia. Two hundred and eighty-four years after his coming our infant republic, with a smaller population in the whole country than we now have in the city of New York alone, was born.

With the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution as its basic law, this infant among the nations in one hundred and thirty-two years has become, at once, the acknowledged commercial giant of the earth, and the model government of mankind. The thirteen scattered colonies of three million people, who Patrick Henry declared were "*invincible to any force which our enemies can send against us,*" have expanded into the forty-six "United States of America," with their island possessions in the Atlantic and the Pacific, peopled by not less than ninety millions of human beings, the freest, richest, most industrious, and most enterprising of any people upon the face of the earth. The infant despised by the proud nations of Europe has become a Hercules, feared and respected by the haughtiest of them, no less than it is loved and revered by the weaker nations of the earth as a model and a peacemaker. For a long time Europeans claimed the right to settle among themselves the affairs of the world; they have now to deal with the United States in this self-imposed duty. And it is significant of the high moral attitude occupied by this country, that one of the first enterprises in which it was asked to join these ancient nations had for its end to do away with the horrors of war, and substitute for the drawn sword in the settlement of national disputes a great supreme court of arbitration.

This is but one of the lessons to be drawn from the history of the great republic of the West. It has long been said that this history

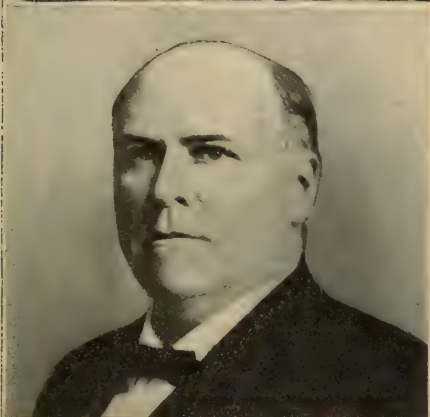
lacks interest, that it is devoid of the romance which we find in that of the Eastern world, has nothing in it of the striking and dramatic, and is too young and new to be worth men's attention when compared with that of the ancient nations, which has come down from the mists of prehistoric time. Yet we think those who familiarize themselves with story of hardship, deprivation and heroic defense of God-given liberty will not be ready to admit this assertion. They will find in the history of the United States an abundance of the elements of romance. It has, besides, the merit of being a complete and fully rounded history. We can trace it from its birth, and put upon record the entire story of the evolution of a nation, a fact which it would be difficult to affirm of any of the older nations of the world.

#### FROM THE BEST STOCK OF EUROPE.

If we go back to the origin of our country, it is to find it made up of a singular mixture of the best people of Europe. The word best is used here in a special sense. The settlers in this country were not the rich and titled. They came not from that proud nobility which claims to possess bluer blood than the common herd, but from the plain people of Europe, from the workers, not the idlers, and this rare distinction they have kept up until the present day. But of this class of the world's workers, they were the best and noblest. They were men who thought for themselves, and refused to be bound in the trammels of a State religion; men who were ready to dare the perils of the sea and the hardships of a barren shore for the blessings of liberty and free thought; men of sturdy thrift, unflinching energy, daring enterprise, the true stuff out of which alone a nation like ours could be built.

Such was the character of the Pilgrims and the Puritans, the hardy empire-builders of New England, of the Quakers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Catholics of Maryland, the Huguenots of the South, the Moravians and other German Protestants, the sturdy Scotch-Irish, and the others who sought this country as a haven of refuge for free thought. We cannot say the same for the **Hollanders** of New Amsterdam, the Swedes of Delaware, and the English of Virginia, so far as their purpose is concerned; yet they, too, proved hardy and industrious settlers, and the Cavaliers whom the troubles in England drove to Virginia showed their good blood by the prominent





GOVERNORS OF ILLINOIS, NORTH CAROLINA, INDIANA, KANSAS, VIRGINIA, IOWA.

Charles S. Deneen, Illinois.  
Robert B. Glenn, North Carolina.  
J. Frank Hanly, Indiana.

Edward W. Hoch, Kansas.  
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia.  
Albert B. Cummins, Iowa.



GOVERNORS OF UTAH, WISCONSIN, NEBRASKA, SOUTH CAROLINA,  
RHODE ISLAND, MICHIGAN.

John C. Cutler, Utah.  
George L. Sheldon, Nebraska.  
James H. Higgins, Rhode Island.

J. O. Davidson, Wisconsin.  
Martin F. Ansel, South Carolina.  
Fred. M. Warner, Michigan.

part which their descendants played in the winning of our independence and the making of our government. While the various peoples named took part in the settlement of the colonies, the bulk of the settlers were of English birth, and Anglo-Saxon thrift and energy became the foundation stones upon which our nation has been built. Of the others, nearly the whole of them were of Teutonic origin, while the Huguenots, whom oppression drove from France, were of the very bone and sinew of that despot-ridden land. It may fairly be said, then, that the founders of our nation came from the cream of the populations of Europe, born of sturdy Teutonic stock, and comprising thrift, energy, endurance, love of liberty and freedom of thought to a degree never equaled in the makers of any other nation upon the earth. They were of solid oak in mind and frame, and the edifice they built had for its foundation the natural rights of man, and for its superstructure that spirit of liberty which has ever since throbbed warmly in the American heart.

#### A COMMON ASPIRATION FOR LIBERTY.

It was well for the colonies that this underlying unity of aim existed, for aside from this they were strikingly distinct in character and aspirations. Sparsely settled, strung at intervals along the far-extended Atlantic coast, silhouetted against a stern background of wilderness and mountain range, their sole bond of brotherhood was their common aspiration for liberty, while in all other respects they were unlike in aims and purposes. The spirit of political liberty was strongest in the New England colonies, and these held their own against every effort to rob them of their rights with an unflinching boldness which is worthy of the highest praise, and which set a noble example for the remaining colonists. Next to them in bold opposition to tyranny were the people of the Carolinas, who sturdily resisted an effort to make them the enslaved subjects of a land-holding nobility. In Pennsylvania and Maryland political rights were granted by high-minded proprietors, and in these colonies no struggle for self-government was necessary. Only in Virginia and New York was autocratic rule established, and in both of these it gradually yielded to the steady demand for self-government.

On the other hand, New England, while politically the freest was religiously the most autocratic. The Puritans, who had crossed the



ocean in search of freedom of thought, refused to grant a similar freedom to those who came later, and sought to found a system as intolerant as that from which they had fled. A natural revulsion from their oppressive measures gave rise in Rhode Island to the first government on the face of the earth in which absolute religious liberty was established. Among the more southern colonies, a similar freedom, so far as liberty of Christian worship is concerned, was granted by William Penn and Lord Baltimore. But this freedom was maintained only in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, religious intolerance being the rule, to a greater or less degree, in all the other colonies; the Puritanism of New England being replaced elsewhere by the Church of England autocracy.

The diversity in political condition, religion and character of the settlers tended to keep the colonies separate, while a like diversity in commercial interests created jealousies which built up new barriers between them. The unity that might have been looked for between these feeble and remote communities, spread like links of a broken chain far along an ocean coast, had these and other diverse conditions to contend with, and they promised to develop into a series of weak and separate nations rather than into a strong and single commonwealth.

#### FIRST STEPS TOWARD UNION.

The influences that overcame this tendency to disunion were many and important. We can only glance at them here. They may be divided into two classes, warlike hostility and industrial oppression. The first step toward union was taken in 1643, when four of the New England colonies formed a confederation for defense against the Dutch and Indians. "The United Colonies of New England" constituted in its way a federal republic, the prototype of that of the United States. The second step of importance in this connection was taken in 1754, when a convention was held at Albany to devise measures of defense against the French. Benjamin Franklin proposed a plan of colonial union, which was accepted by the convention. But the jealousy of the colonies prevented its adoption. They had grown into communities of some strength and with a degree of pride in their separate freedom, and were not ready to yield to a central authority. The British Government also opposed it, not wishing to see the colonies

gain the strength which would have come to them from political union. As a result, the plan fell to the ground.

#### THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The next important influence tending toward union was the oppressive policy of Great Britain. The industries and commerce of the colonies had long been seriously restricted by the measures of the mother-country, and after the war with France an attempt was made to tax the colonists, though they were sternly refused representation in Parliament, the tax-levying body. Community in oppression produced unity in feeling; the colonies joined hands, and in 1765 a congress of their representatives was held in New York, which appealed to the King for their just political rights. Nine years afterward, in 1774, a second congress was held, brought together by much more imminent common dangers. In the following year a third congress was convened. This continued in session for years, its two most important acts being the Declaration of Independence from Great Britain and the Confederation of States, the first form of union which the colonies adopted. This Confederation was in no true sense a Union. The jealousies and fears of the colonies made themselves apparent, and the central government was given so little power that it threatened to fall to pieces of its own weight. It could pass laws, but could not make the people obey them. It could incur debts, but could not raise money by taxation to pay them. The States kept nearly all the power to themselves, and each acted almost as if it were an independent nation, while the Congress and the Confederation was left without money and almost without authority.

This state of affairs soon grew intolerable. "We are," said Washington, "one nation to-day, and thirteen to-morrow." Such a union it was impossible to maintain. It was evident that the compact must give way; that there must be one strong government or thirteen weak ones. This last alternative frightened the States. None of them was strong enough to hold its own against foreign governments. They must form a strong union or leave themselves at the mercy of ambitious foes.

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787.

It was this state of affairs that led to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, by whose wisdom the National Union which has

proved so solid a bond was organized. The Constitution made by this body gave rise to the Republic of the United States. A subsequent act, which in 1898 added a number of distant island possessions to our Union, and vastly widened its interests and its importance in the world's councils, made of it a "Greater Republic," a mighty dominion whose possessions extended half round the globe.

While the changes here briefly outlined were taking place, the country was growing with phenomenal rapidity. From all parts of northern and western Europe, and above all from Great Britain, new settlers were crowding to our shores, while the descendants of the original settlers were increasing in numbers. How many people there were here is in doubt, but it is thought that in 1700 there were more than 200,000, in 1750 about 1,100,000, and in 1776 about 2,500,000. The first census, taken in 1790, just after the Federal Union was formed, gave a population of nearly 4,000,000.

A people growing at this rate could not be long confined to the narrow ocean border of the early settlements. A rich and fertile country lay back, extending how far no one knew, and soon there was a movement to the West, which carried the people over the mountains and into the broad plains beyond. A war was fought with France for the possession of the Ohio country. Boone and other bold pioneers led hardy settlers into Kentucky and Tennessee, and George Rogers Clark descended the Ohio and drove the British troops from the northwest territory, gaining that vast region for the new Union.

After the War for Independence the movement westward went on with rapidity. The first settlement in Ohio was made at Marietta in 1788; Cincinnati was founded in 1790; in 1803 St. Louis was a little village of log-cabins; and in 1831 the site of Chicago was occupied by a dozen settlers gathered round Fort Dearborn. But while the cities were thus slow in starting, the country between them was rapidly filling up, the Indians giving way step by step as the vanguard of the great march pressed upon them; here down the Ohio in bullet-proof boats, there across the mountains on foot or in wagons. A great national road stretched westward from Cumberland, Maryland, which in time reached the Mississippi, and over whose broad and solid surface a steady stream of emigrant wagons poured into the great West. At the same time steamboats were beginning to run on the Eastern waters, and soon these were carrying the increasing multitude down



the Ohio and the Mississippi into the vast Western realm. Later came the railroad to complete this phase of our history, and provide a means of transportation by whose aid millions could travel with ease where a bare handful had made their way with peril and hardship of old.

#### REMARKABLE EXPANSION OF TERRITORY.

Up to 1803 our national domain was bounded on the west by the Mississippi, but in that year the vast territory of Louisiana was purchased from France and the United States was extended to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, its territory being more than doubled in area. Here was a mighty domain for future settlement, across which two daring travelers, Lewis and Clark, journeyed through tribes of Indians never before heard of, not ending their long route until they had passed down the broad Columbia to the waters of the Pacific.

From time to time new domains were added to the great republic. In 1819 Florida was purchased from Spain. In 1845 Texas was added to the Union. In 1846 the Oregon country was made part of the United States. In 1848, as a result of the Mexican War, an immense tract extending from Texas to the Pacific was acquired, and the land of gold became part of the republic. In 1853 another tract was purchased from Mexico, and the domain of the United States, as it existed at the beginning of the Civil War, was completed. It constituted a great section of the North American continent, extending across it from the Atlantic to the Pacific, north and south from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, a fertile, well-watered and prolific land, capable of becoming the nursery of one of the greatest nations on the earth. Beginning, at the close of the Revolution, with an area of 827,844 square miles, it now embraced 3,026,484 square miles of territory, having increased within a century to nearly four times its original size.

#### STILL FURTHER EXPANSION.

In 1867 a new step was taken, in the addition to this country of a region of land separated from its immediate domain. This was the territory of Alaska, of more than 577,000 square miles in extent, and whose natural wealth has made it a far more valuable acquisition than was originally dreamed of. In 1898 the Greater Republic, as it at

present exists, was completed by the acquisition of the island of Porto Rico in the West Indies, and the Hawaiian and Philippine Island groups in the Pacific Ocean. These, while adding not greatly to our territory, may prove to possess a value in their products, fully justifying their acquisition. At present, however, their value is political rather than industrial, as bringing the United States into new and important relations with the other great nations of the earth.

The growth of population in this country is shown strikingly in the remarkable development of its cities. In 1790 the three largest cities were not larger than many of our minor cities to-day. Philadelphia had 42,000 population; New York, 33,000, and Boston, 18,000. Charleston and Baltimore were still smaller, and Savannah was quite small. There were only five cities with over 10,000 population. Of inland towns, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with something over 6,000 population, was the largest. In 1900, 110 years afterwards, New York had over 3,000,000, Philadelphia over 1,000,000, and Chicago, a city not sixty years old, over 1,500,000. As for cities surpassing those of a century before, they were hundreds in number. A similar great growth has taken place in the States. From the original thirteen, hugging closely the Atlantic coast, we now possess forty-six, crossing the continent from ocean to ocean, and have besides a vast territorial area.

#### RESOURCES OF THE GREATER REPUBLIC.

The thirteen original States, sparsely peopled, poor and struggling for existence, have expanded into a great galaxy of States, rich, powerful and prosperous, with grand cities, flourishing rural communities, measureless resources, and an enterprise which no difficulty can baffle and no hardship can check. Our territory could support hundreds of millions of population, and still be much less crowded than some of the countries of Europe. Its products include those of every zone; hundreds of thousands of square miles of its soil are of virgin richness; its mineral wealth is so great that its precious metals have affected the monetary standards of the world, and its vast mineral and agricultural wealth is as yet only partly developed. Vast as has been the production of gold in California, its annual output is of less value than that of wheat. In wheat, corn and cotton, indeed, the product of this country is simply stupendous; while, in addition to its

gold and silver, it is a mighty storehouse of coal, iron, copper, lead, petroleum and many other products of nature that are of high value to mankind.

In its progress towards its present condition, our country has been markedly successful in two great fields of human effort, in war and in peace. A brief preliminary statement of its success in the first of these, and of the causes of its several wars, may be desirable. The early colonists had three enemies to contend with: the original inhabitants of the land, the Spanish settlers in the South, and the French in the North and West. Its dealings with the aborigines have been one continuous series of conflicts, the red man being driven back step by step until to-day he holds but a small fraction of his once great territory. Yet the Indians are probably as numerous to-day as they were originally, and are certainly better off in their present peaceful and partly civilized condition than they were in their former savage and warlike state.

#### WARS FOR ANGLO-SAXON SUPREMACY.

The Spaniards were never numerous in this country, and were forced to retire after a few conflicts of no special importance. Such was not the case with the French, who were numerous and aggressive, and with whom the colonists were at war on four successive occasions, the last being that fierce conflict in which it was decided whether the Anglo-Saxon or the French race should be dominant in this country. The famous battle on the Plains of Abraham settled the question, and with the fall of Quebec the power of France in America fell, never to rise again.

A direct and almost an immediate consequence of this struggle for dominion was the struggle for liberty between colonists and the mother country. The oppressive measures of Great Britain led to a war of seven years' duration, in which more clearly and decisively than ever before the colonists showed their warlike spirit and political genius, and whose outcome was the independence of this country. At its conclusion the United States stepped into line with the nations of the world, a free community, with a mission to fulfil and a destiny to accomplish—a mission and a destiny which are still in process of development, and whose final outcome no man can foresee.

The next series of events in the history of our wars arose from



the mighty struggle in Europe between France and Great Britain and the piratical activity of the Barbary States. The latter were forced to respect the power of the United States by several naval demonstrations and conflicts; and a naval war with France, in which our ships were strikingly successful, induced that country to show us greater respect. But the wrongs which we suffered from Great Britain were not so easily settled, and led to a war of three years' continuance, in which the honors were fairly divided on land, but in which our sailors surprised the world by their prowess in naval conflict. The proud boast that "Britannia rules the waves" lost its pertinence after our two striking victories on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain, and our remarkable success in a dozen conflicts at sea. Alike in this war and in the Revolution the United States showed that skill and courage in naval warfare which have recently been repeated in the Spanish War.

#### WARS FROM POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CAUSES.

The wars of which we have spoken had a warrant for their being. They were largely unavoidable results of existing conditions. This cannot justly be said of the next struggle upon which the United States entered, the Mexican War, since this was a politician's war pure and simple, one which could easily have been avoided, and which was entered into with the avowed purpose of acquiring territory. In this it succeeded, the country gaining a great and highly valuable tract, whose wealth in the precious metals is unsurpassed by any equal section of the earth, and which is still richer in agricultural than in mineral wealth.

The next conflict that arose was the most vital and important of all our wars, with the exception of that by which we gained our independence. The Constitution of 1787 did not succeed in forming a perfect Union between the States. An element of dissension was left, a "rift within the lute," then seemingly small and unimportant, but destined to grow to dangerous proportions. This was the slavery question, disposed of in the Constitution by a compromise, which, like every compromise with evil, failed in its purpose. The question continued to exist. It grew threatening, portentous, and finally overshadowed the whole political domain. Every effort to settle it peacefully only added to the strain; the union between the States weakened as this mighty hammer of discord struck down their combining links; finally the

bonds yielded, the slavery question thrust itself like a great wedge between, and a mighty struggle began to decide whether the Union should stand or fall. While the war was fought for the preservation of the Union, it was clearly perceived that this union could never be stable while the disorganizing element remained, and the war led inevitably to the abolition of slavery, the apple of discord which had been thrown between the States. The greatness of the result was adequate to the greatness of the conflict. With the end of the Civil War, for the first time in their history, an actual and stable Union was established between the States.

We have one more war to record, the brief but important struggle of 1898, entered into by the United States under the double impulse of indignation against the barbarous destruction of the *Maine*, and of sympathy for the starving and oppressed people of Cuba. It yielded results undreamed of in its origin. Not only was Cuba wrested from the feeble and inhuman hands of Spain, but new possessions in the oceans of the east and west were added to the United States, and, for the first time, this country took its predestined place among the nations engaged in shaping the destiny of the world, and rose to imperial dignity in the estimation of the rulers of Europe.

#### THE VICTORIES OF PEACE.

Such has been the record of this country in war. Its record in peace has been marked by as steady a career of victory, and with results stupendous almost beyond the conception of man, when we consider that the most of them have been achieved within a little more than a century. During the colonial period the energies of the American people were confined largely to agriculture, Great Britain sternly prohibiting any progress in manufacture and any important development of commerce. It need hardly be said that the restless and active spirit of the colonist chafed under these restrictions, and that the attempt to clip the expanding wings of the American eagle had as much to do with bringing on the War of the Revolution as had Great Britain's futile efforts at taxation. The genius of a great people cannot thus be cribbed and confined, and American enterprise was bound to find a way, or carve itself a way through the barriers raised by British avarice and tyranny.

It was after the Revolution that the progress of this country first fairly began. The fetters which bound its hands thrown off, it

entered upon a career of prosperity which broadened with the years, and extended until not only the whole continent, but the whole world felt its influence and was embraced by its results. Manufacture, no longer held in check, sprang up and spread with marvelous rapidity. Commerce, now gaining access to all seas and all lands, expanded with equal speed. Enterprise everywhere made itself manifest, and invention began its long and wonderful career.

#### INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

In fact, freedom was barely won before our inventors were actively at work. Before the Constitution was formed John Fitch was experimenting with his steamboat on the Delaware, and Oliver Evans was seeking to move wagons by steam in the streets of Philadelphia. Not many years elapsed before both were successful, and Eli Whitney with his cotton-gin had set free the leading industry of the South and enabled it to begin that remarkable career which proved so momentous in American history, since to it we owe the Civil War with all its great results.

With the opening of the nineteenth century the development of the industries and of the inventive faculty of the Americans went on with enhanced rapidity. The century was but a few years old when Fulton, with his improved steamboat, solved the question of inland water transportation. By the end of the first quarter of the century this was solved in another way by the completion of the Erie Canal, the longest and hitherto the most valuable of artificial waterways. The railroad locomotive, though invented in England, was prefigured when Oliver Evans' steam road-wagon ran sturdily through the streets of Philadelphia. To the same inventor we owe another triumph of American genius, the grain elevator, which the development of agriculture has rendered of incomparable value. The railroad, though not a native here, has had here its greatest development, and with its more than 180,000 miles of length has no rival in any country upon the earth. To it may be added the Morse system of telegraphy, the telephone and phonograph, the electric light and electric motor, and all that wonderful series of inventions in electrical science which has been due to American genius.

We cannot begin to name the multitude of inventions in the mechanical industries which have raised manufacture from an art to a science and filled the world with the multitude of its products. It



will suffice to name among them the steam hammer, the sewing machine, the cylinder printing press, the type-setting machine, rubber vulcanizer, and the innumerable improvements in steam engines and labor-saving apparatus of all kinds. These manufacturing expedients have been equaled in number and importance by those applied to agriculture, including machines for plowing, reaping, sowing the seed, threshing the grain, cutting the grass, and a hundred other valuable processes, which have fairly revolutionized the art of tilling the earth, and enable our farmers to feed not only our own population, but to send millions of bushels of grain annually abroad.

#### MARVELS OF THE PAST CENTURY.

In truth, we have entered here upon an interminable field, so full of triumphs of invention and ingenuity, and so stupendous in its results as to form one of the chief marvels of this wonderful century, and to place our nation, in the field of human industry and mechanical achievement, foremost among the nations of the world. Its triumphs have not been confined to manufacture and agriculture; it has been as active in commerce, and now stands first in the bulk of its exports and imports. In every other direction of industry it has been as active, as in fisheries, in forestry, in great works of engineering, in vast mining operations; and from the seas, the earth, the mountain sides, our laborers are wresting annually from nature a stupendous return in wealth.

Our progress in the industries has been aided and inspired by an equal progress in educational facilities, and the intellectual development of our people has kept pace with their material advance. The United States spends more money for the education of its youth than any other country in the world, and among her institutions the school-house and the college stand most prominent. While the lower education has been abundantly attended to, the higher education has been by no means neglected, and amply endowed colleges and universities are found in every State and in almost every city of the land. In addition to the school-house, libraries are multiplying with rapidity, art galleries and museums of science are rising everywhere, temples to music and the drama are found in all our cities, the press is turning out books and newspapers with almost abnormal energy, and in everything calculated to enhance the intelligence of the people the United States has no superior, if any equal, among the nations of the earth.

## THE GREATNESS OF THE REPUBLIC.

It may seem unnecessary to tell the people of the United States the story of their growth. The greatness to which this nation has attained is too evident to need to be put in words. It has, in fact, been made evident in two great and a multitude of smaller exhibitions in which the marvels of American progress have been shown, either by themselves or in contrast with those of foreign lands. The first of these, the Centennial Exposition of 1876, had a double effect: it opened our eyes at once to our triumphs and our deficiencies, to the particulars in which we excelled and those in which we were inferior to foreign peoples. In the next great exhibition, that at Chicago in 1893, we had the satisfaction to perceive, not only that we had made great progress in our points of superiority, but had worked nobly and heartily to overcome our defects, and were able to show ourselves the foremost nation of the world in many branches of manufacture, and we were easily the leaders in those modern inventions of an epoch-making character in machinery.

The Spanish-American War lifted another veil from off the face of the Western republic, and revealed it to all civilization, for the first time, in its benignity, majesty and strength as a world power. It was fortunate to receive this recognition in the rôle of a friend to all humanity and a foe to the death of tyranny and oppression. Through this war mighty islands of both oceans came under our protection and dominion, and their millions of people felt their shackles fall, and breathed, for the first time, the air of freedom. Since that date the glory of our nation has been recognized throughout the world by the elevation and progress of these her foster children.

The World's Fair at St. Louis was the greatest that the world has seen. All lands sent their displays and all peoples came. Such a cosmopolitan collection of humanity and human products, and inventions, and such a picture of achievements, perhaps, would have been impossible in any other land beneath the sun. After that American eyes were turned to greater internal perfection and improvements. Graft and corruption had naturally crept into the economic system of this mighty nation. And the way it has been assailed and is being rooted out is the chief glory of America in this good year of 1908. Whatever party may be in power in the future, our people have spoken, and the good work shall go on.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### FROM WASHINGTON TO ROOSEVELT.

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#### BIRD'S EYE-VIEW OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS OF 120 YEARS.

In this year, 1908, it is declared by leading statesmen that our nation is facing the most momentous crisis in our history since the campaign of 1860. Whether this be true or not, we are, at least, taking gigantic steps as a world power, and approaching the most important historical period since Lincoln ran for the Presidency. A number of candidates are now before us for that high office, and the American people are called upon to select, from among them, the fittest man to guide our Ship of State in its course as a world power. It is, therefore, well, in learning about these distinguished aspirants, and in weighing their qualifications, that we shall take a bird's eye-view of the doings of the eminent men who have preceded them in this high office, and briefly outline what was accomplished in the administration of each.

When the office of President was to be filled for the first time, grave problems were to be solved. The hardships and sufferings of the struggle for independence were yet present in the minds of all men; the weakness and failure of the government instituted by the Articles of Confederation had compelled an attempt "to form a more perfect Union;" the eyes of the civilized world were upon the struggling people, and to men who had not an abiding faith in the principles for which the battles of the Revolution had been fought, it seemed that the experiment of popular government was to end in early, complete, and appropriate catastrophe.

In such circumstances, it was well that the public needs were so great and so immediate as to make men willing to forget their differences and consider measures for the common good; and particularly was it well for the future of our country that there was one man upon



whom all could agree as uniting the wisdom, the moderation, the experience, the dignity necessary to the first President of the United States.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1732-1799. TWO TERMS, 1789-1797.

George Washington was the only man ever unanimously elected President. He undertook the duties of the Chief Magistracy with a deep sense of their importance and their difficulty, but with the courage and devotion which characterized all his conduct. He selected for his Cabinet men of widely different political views, but men whose names were not new to Americans, men whose past services justified the belief that they would find means of leading the country out of its present difficulties, and of setting the affairs of the government on a sure foundation. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox and Randolph might well be trusted to concert wise measures.

Washington's second election was, like the first, without opposition, and for four years more he continued to guide the affairs of state. A national bank had been established early in his first term, and also the Philadelphia Mint, and the currency of the country was now on a fairly satisfactory basis; a census had been taken in 1790 and showed that the country had already begun to grow in population, and the outlook was much more favorable than four years earlier.

JOHN ADAMS, 1735-1826. ONE TERM, 1797-1801.

Upon the announcement of Washington's retirement, the two parties, which had been gradually developing an organization, prepared to contest the election of the second President. The Federalists, who advocated a strong central government, favored John Adams, and the Republicans, who "claimed to be the friends of liberty and the rights of men, the advocates of economy, and of the rights of the States," desired the election of Thomas Jefferson. The Federalists were in a slight majority, and Mr. Adams was elected. He was a native of Massachusetts, and had borne a leading part in the struggle for independence and the development of the government. He was one of the leaders in Massachusetts in resisting the oppressive measures which brought on the Revolution; he seconded the resolution for the Declaration of Independence, and assisted in framing that remarkable document; with Franklin and Jay, he negotiated the treaty which

established our independence; he had represented his country as Minister to France, and to Holland, and was the first United States Minister to England; he had been Vice-President during Washington's two administrations, and was now to assume office as the second President.

His Presidency opened with every prospect of war with the French. That nation had taken offense because we preserved an attitude of neutrality in their contest with Great Britain. They actually began war by capturing our merchant ships, and the French Directory refused to receive the new United States Minister, while three commissioners, who were sent to make one more effort for peace, were insulted. Under the influence of the war spirit thus excited, the Federalists in Congress passed two acts, known as the Alien and Sedition Laws, which resulted in the downfall of their party. The former gave the President authority to order out of the country any alien whom he considered dangerous to its welfare, and the latter was intended to suppress conspiracies and malicious abuse of the government. They excited great opposition and were almost immediately repealed. The war had already been terminated on the accession of Napoleon Bonaparte to power in France.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1743-1826. TWO TERMS, 1801-1809.

Mr. Adams failed of re-election, largely because of the division of sentiment in regard to the French war. His great patriotism, high moral courage, and his ability as a statesman, were somewhat marred by a strange lack of tact, and a stupendous vanity, which sometimes made him ridiculous, but his countrymen could well afford to forget such minor faults, and remember only his manifold services in their common cause. He was succeeded by a man no less great. Thomas Jefferson was the son of a Virginia planter, received his education at William and Mary College, studied law and engaged in its practice. He resolved on entering public life, never to engage, while in public office, in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of his fortune, nor to wear any other character than that of a farmer. When he came to the Presidency his country already owed him much. As a member of the Continental Congress he wrote the draft of the Declaration of Independence; returning to Virginia, he inaugurated a reformed system of laws in that State, and, becoming its Governor,

rendered invaluable aid to the army during the closing years of the Revolution; he shared with Gouverneur Morris the credit of devising our decimal system of money; he succeeded Franklin as Minister to France, and on his return from that post, was informed that Washington had chosen him for the first Secretary of State. He wished to decline further public service, but "It is not for an individual," said he to the President, "to choose his post; you are to marshal us as may be best for the public good." A difference of three electoral votes made Adams President and Jefferson Vice-President, but in 1800 a political revolution reversed the majority and made him the third President. Although a leader of a party, he exerted himself to allay partisan rancor, and he resolutely refused to make official positions for his political friends by removing from office men whose only offense was a difference of political opinion.

Jefferson was re-elected by a largely increased majority. During his administration, the territory of Louisiana was purchased from France; the famous expedition of Lewis and Clarke set out to explore this new domain; the importation of slaves was forbidden; the pirates of Tripoli and Algiers were suppressed; the first steamboat began to navigate the Hudson, and the growing troubles with Great Britain and France caused the enactment of laws called the Embargo and Non-intercourse Acts, intended, by cutting off our commerce with those countries, to compel them to respect our neutrality. These two measures resulted in little but failure, as they caused great distress at home, and were repealed before they could have much effect abroad.

#### JAMES MADISON, 1751-1836. TWO TERMS, 1809-1817.

When James Madison came to be the fourth President, he found the difficulties with England and France still unsettled. These countries being ancient enemies and being almost continually at war, it was almost impossible to be on friendly terms with one without making an enemy of the other; neither would respect our rights as a neutral nation; each was in the habit of seizing and selling our ships and cargoes bound for the ports of the other, and England, in addition, assumed the right to search our vessels, examine their crews, and compel to enter her service any sailor who had been an English subject. These troubles were not new. Jay's treaty, in 1795, had vainly attempted to adjust a part of them, and as our country grew in



strength, it gradually became impossible for the people longer to submit.

The War of 1812, the "Second War for Independence," occupied most of Madison's administration, and though not vigorously conducted, it demonstrated the military and naval resources of the country and caused the American flag to be respected all over the world; and by cutting off the supply of foreign goods, it compelled the starting of cotton and woolen mills in this country, and this resulted in the building up of home manufactures.

The Presidency of Mr. Madison is not the portion of his career upon which his fame rests; his best services to his country were in his work as a constructive statesman. In the shaping of the Constitution and in securing its adoption he shared with Hamilton the chief honors. He was, doubtless, happy when, at the close of his second administration, he could retire to his Virginia estate and spend the remaining twenty years of his life in scholarly ease.

JAMES MONROE, 1758-1831. TWO TERMS, 1817-1827.

Madison was succeeded by another Virginian, a gallant soldier of the Revolution, who had laid down his books at William and Mary College to complete his education in the Continental army. James Monroe was eighteen years old when he took part in the battle of Trenton, and his record justified the confidence with which his countrymen universally regarded him. In his inaugural address he took as a symbol of the enduring character of the Union, the foundation of the Capitol, near which he stood to deliver the address and which had survived the ruins of the beautiful building recently burnt by the British.

So popular was President Monroe, and so wisely did he administer the affairs of state, that on his re-election there was not opposing candidate and he lacked but one of a unanimous vote in the electoral college. This vote was cast for John Quincy Adams, simply in order "that no later mortal should stand in Washington's shoes" in being unanimously elected. Monroe's two terms comprise an eventful period in our history; the government pensioned its Revolutionary soldiers and their widows, spending in all \$65,000,000 in this noble work; Florida was purchased from Spain; the National Road was begun at Cumberland, Md., finally to extend as far as Illinois, and to be of

inestimable service in the opening and development of the West; but the subject which took the deepest hold upon the minds of the people was that of the extension of slavery. Following the "Era of Good Feeling" ushered in by Monroe's administration, came a serious division in public feeling as to whether slavery should be permitted in the northern part of the territory west of the Mississippi. The question arose so suddenly and was so fiercely debated that Jefferson declared that it terrified him, "like a fire-bell in the night," and he feared serious trouble between the States, the actual outbreak of which was postponed, by a series of compromises, for a period of forty years. Henry Clay's Missouri Compromise quieted the quarrel for some twenty-five years.

President Monroe is perhaps most widely renowned as the author of the "Monroe Doctrine"—that no European nation has a right to interfere with the affairs of any American State—a doctrine to which our government has steadily adhered. It is interesting to note that the man who had served his country so well in the high position of its chief magistrate was willing, after the close of his second term, to accept so humble a post as that of Justice of the Peace, and so continue a public servant; but it is sad to relate that Mr. Monroe's great generosity and public spirit left him, in his old age, embarrassed by debt and obliged to sell his residence at Oak Hill, in Virginia, to end his days in the home of a son-in-law, in New York.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1767-1848. ONE TERM, 1825-1829.

The "Era of Good Feeling" had left no organized national parties in politics, and there were four candidates voted for to succeed Monroe. This resulted in there being no majority in the electoral college, and the final choice was therefore made by the House of Representatives, John Quincy Adams thus becoming the sixth President. He was, perhaps, as well equipped for the position, at least in breadth of information, knowledge of statecraft, and experience in political affairs, as any man who has ever filled it. At the age of fifteen he was secretary to the Minister to Russia; after graduating at Harvard, and practicing law for a few years, he became United States Minister at The Hague, and afterwards at Berlin, St. Petersburg and London; he had represented Massachusetts in the National Senate, and during the Presidency of Mr. Monroe he had been Secretary of State. His

administration was not marked by any measure of national importance, but is notable as the era in which a number of projects for the promotion of commercial intercourse met with the success they deserved.

We have already mentioned the National Road. It was no more important than the Erie Canal, "Clinton's Big Ditch," as it was derisively called, which was opened in 1825; and the experiments with "steam wagons" resulted, in 1828, in the opening of a line of railroad which now forms part of the Baltimore and Ohio system. The first spadeful of earth was turned by the venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the only survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who remarked, in so doing, that he considered this among the most important acts of his life, "second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence, if second to that."

It is also to be noted that this era marks the beginning of that social movement which in less than seventy years has resulted in so marked a change in the views of Americans regarding the use of intoxicants.

ANDREW JACKSON, 1767-1845. TWO TERMS, 1829-1837.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President, was the first who was not a citizen either of Massachusetts or Virginia. He was also the first who was not already known to his countrymen as a distinguished statesman. He was exceedingly popular, however, owing to his military services and to his energetic, honest and fearless, though head-strong character. He had led a strange and eventful life. In his boyhood he had known all the hardships and privations of absolute poverty; at the age of fourteen he was a prisoner of war, and was nearly starved by his British captors. He studied law and emigrated from North Carolina to Tennessee. After that territory became a State he represented it in Congress, and for a short time in the Senate. He was continually involved in quarrels, fought several duels, and made many bitter enemies as well as many warm friends. His success in leading the Tennessee militia against the Indians gained for him the reputation which caused his appointment to command in the Southwest near the close of the War of 1812, and his brilliant defense of New Orleans gave "Old Hickory" a place in the hearts of his countrymen, which resulted in their electing him to succeed John Quincy



Adams as President, and his ability and integrity were so manifest that he was re-elected in 1832 by the electoral votes of all the States except seven.

#### AN INTERESTING PERIOD.

No period of our history is more interesting than the eight years of Jackson's administration. He was the first President to dismiss large numbers of officials in order to replace them by his own partisans. The anti-slavery movement took definite shape during this time, and William Lloyd Garrison began the publication of the famous *Liberator*, and American literature had its beginnings.

At this time came the first serious danger of a rupture between the States. It grew out of the tariff legislation, which South Carolina, under the head of John C. Calhoun, undertook to nullify. The payment of the duties was refused, but the President sent General Scott to Charleston to enforce the law, and under the advice of Henry Clay a new and more satisfactory tariff was adopted. This difficulty and Jackson's determined opposition to the United States Bank, his fight against it, resulting in its destruction, are the events of this administration, which produced the most marked and lasting effect upon our national history. After the close of his second term he lived in retirement at his home, the famous "Hermitage," near Nashville, until his death, eight years later.

#### MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1822-1862. ONE TERM, 1837-1841.

Martin Van Buren had hardly entered upon the duties of the Presidency when the great panic of 1837 occurred. It resulted from a variety of causes, among which may be mentioned the great number of worthless banks which sprang up after the discontinuance of the United States Bank; the prevalence of wild speculation, particularly in land, and the action of the government in demanding that the banks should repay their deposits in coin. One good effect of this great public calamity was the establishment of a Treasury of the United States, independent of any bank or system of banks.

It was during this administration that the Mormons formed their settlement in Nauvoo, Illinois, and in 1840 a regular line of steamships was established between Liverpool and Boston.

Mr. Van Buren was a native of New York, had served his State

in various offices of trust, including that of Governor; had been its representative in the United States Senate; had been Minister to England, Secretary of State during most of Jackson's first administration, and Vice-President during his second. He continued, for several years after the close of his term as President, to take an active part in politics, and in 1848 he was the candidate of the anti-slavery Democrats, or "Free Democracy," for President, after which he took no part in public affairs, though he lived at his native place, in Columbia County, New York, until nearly the middle of the War of the Rebellion.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, 1773-1841. ONE MONTH, 1841.

For forty years the Democrats had retained control of the National Government, but the administration of Van Buren had not been popular, and the change in public sentiment was so great that in the election of 1840 he was defeated by General William Henry Harrison, who had been the unsuccessful candidate four years before. The political campaign was the most exciting that had yet occurred; the enthusiasm for the Whig candidate was very great, and the "Log-cabin and Hard-cider" campaign will be long remembered.

The character of the successful candidate justified high expectations of his administration. Left at an early age to depend upon himself, he had entered the army and won distinction under General Wayne, in the Indian wars; he had been long identified with the development of what are now Indiana and Ohio; had represented Ohio in the United States Senate, and filled several other offices of more or less note, and was living, when elected, on his farm, not far from Cincinnati. He made a judicious selection of cabinet officers, but within a month after his inauguration, and before any definite line of policy had been established, he died, after a very brief illness, probably caused by the fatigue and excitement of his inauguration.

JOHN TYLER, 1790-1862. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1841-1845.

John Tyler was the first Vice-President of the United States to become President. He had been made the Whig candidate largely from motives of policy, as he had been an active Democrat, and as a member of that party had been elected Governor of Virginia, and had represented that State in the United States Senate. He had, however,

been opposed to both Jackson and Van Buren, and had for some time been acting with the Whigs. He soon quarreled, however, with the Whig Congress, the subject of contention being the proposed revival of the United States Bank. This quarrel continued throughout the Presidential term, to the great hindrance of public business. Two events which marked a new era, the one in our methods of communication, the other in the relief of human suffering, took place during this time; they were the invention of the electric telegraph and the use of ether in surgery. The events of greatest political importance were the settlement, by the Ashburton treaty, of a troublesome dispute with Great Britain, concerning the northeastern boundary of the United States, and, just at the close of Tyler's administration, the annexation of Texas. The latter was a step which had for some time been under discussion, it being advocated by the South as a pro-slavery measure, and opposed by the anti-slavery party. Texas had made itself independent of Mexico, and asked to be annexed to the United States, a request which was thus finally granted. Mr. Tyler returned to private life at the close of his Presidential term, and took little part in public affairs until the breaking out of the Civil War. At the time of his death he was a member of the Confederate Congress.

JAMES KNOX POLK, 1795-1849. ONE TERM, 1845-1849.

The Democrats were again successful in 1844, and on March 4, 1845, James K. Polk became the eleventh President. He was a native of North Carolina, but in boyhood had removed with his father to Tennessee. He was well educated, and was unusually successful in his profession of the law. He was for fourteen years a member of Congress and was Speaker of the House for five consecutive sessions. On his declining a re-election to Congress he was made Governor of Tennessee, and as a candidate for the Presidency in 1844 was successful in uniting the warring factions of the Democrats. He came to the Presidency at a critical time. The annexation of Texas had involved the country in difficulties with Mexico, and the question of the northern boundary west of the Rocky Mountains threatened to interrupt the cordial relations between the United States and England. The latter question was settled by accepting the parallel of forty-nine degrees of north latitude, thus making the boundary continuous with that east of the mountains, but the trouble with Mexico culminated in war,



which resulted, in less than two years, in the complete conquest of that country. California and New Mexico were ceded to the United States on the payment of \$15,000,000 and the assumption of certain debts of Mexico. It was just at this time that gold was discovered in California, and the wonderful emigration to that territory began. Mr. Polk survived his Presidential term only some three months.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, 1784-1850. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1849-1850.

The pendulum of popular favor had again swung over to the side of the Whigs, and their candidate was elected the twelfth President. General Zachary Taylor had grown up amid the privations and difficulties of frontier life in Kentucky. By the influence of Madison, the then Secretary of State, who was a relative of the family, he received an appointment as lieutenant in the United States Army, and served with great distinction in the Indian wars which then harassed our frontiers. At the time of the annexation of Texas he was in command of the army in the Southwest, with the rank of Brigadier-General. His management of affairs during the time which preceded the Mexican War was marked by great discretion, and his brilliant conduct of the opening campaign brought him great popularity and led to his nomination for the Presidency by the Whigs, to the great chagrin of some of the leaders of the party who saw in his success the disappointment of their own ambition, and who distrusted a candidate who had no experience in legislative or executive affairs. This distrust, however, has not been shared by the majority of the people, either in the case of General Taylor or of other Presidential candidates of purely military renown, and such a candidate has usually been sure of success.

The question of the extension of slavery was again being fiercely agitated, and seemed once more likely to disrupt the country. General Taylor lived only some sixteen months after his inauguration, dying before the heat of debate in Congress had abated.

MILLARD FILLMORE, 1800-1874. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1850-1853.

The Vice-President, who, by the death of General Taylor, came to be the Chief Magistrate of the country, was Millard Fillmore, of New York. He was an admirable type of the American citizen, owing this high position to his own attainments, and to his own unaided

exertions. He received no pecuniary assistance after his fourteenth year, except a small loan, which he punctually repaid. With exceedingly little previous education, he began, at the age of nineteen, the study of law, which he prosecuted under the most adverse circumstances, but so successfully as to place him in the front rank of the lawyers of the State of New York. He was for several terms a member of the lower House of Congress, where he distinguished himself as a wise, prudent, honest legislator. He was Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means which framed the tariff of 1842, and although he claimed no originality for the principles on which it was based, he is justly entitled to be considered its author.

#### UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

His Presidential term is chiefly remembered by the debate in Congress on the extension of slavery in the territory gained by the Mexican War, resulting in the adoption of the compromise measures proposed by Henry Clay, including the Fugitive Slave Law. This law, which gave the owners of runaway slaves the right to call on all citizens to assist in arresting and restoring them to their owners, was exceedingly unpopular in the North, and did much to prevent Mr. Fillmore's renomination, and to increase anti-slavery sentiment in the North.

Mrs. Stowe's famous story, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was published in 1852, and had a great influence in hastening the impending conflict. At the close of his term Mr. Fillmore retired to Buffalo, where he resided until his death, in 1874.

Soon were heard the thunderous attacks of the abolitionists and a whisper of the opening of the "underground railroad" for escaping slaves. The work of the "Great Pacificator" Henry Clay and the measures he proposed seemed soon about to be lost in bitter and bloody strife of civil war.

#### FRANKLIN PIERCE, 1804-1868. ONE TERM, 1853-1857.

Again the Whigs were retired from control of the National Government and a Democratic President elected. Franklin Pierce had been a life-long resident of New Hampshire. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, was widely known as an able and successful lawyer, and though his name was not especially connected with any great

measure, he had represented his State in both Houses of Congress. He expressed in his inaugural address the belief that all questions concerning slavery should be considered settled by the compromise measures of 1850, and the hope that "no sectional, or ambitious, or fanatical excitement might again threaten the durability of our institutions or obscure the light of our prosperity."

#### CRYSTAL PALACE.

Among the notable events of his administration may be mentioned the international exhibition in the "Crystal Palace," in New York, in 1853, in which the pre-eminence of Americans in the invention of labor-saving machinery was manifested; the expedition of Commodore Perry to Japan, which resulted in opening to American commerce the ports of that interesting country, which no foreigners had previously been allowed to enter; and the adjustment of a dispute with Mexico concerning the western portion of the boundary between the two countries, resulting in the purchase by the United States of a considerable district, included in the present territories of Arizona and New Mexico. But the facts which chiefly characterize this administration concern the irrepressible conflict about slavery. The Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 repealed the Missouri Compromise, and made the question of slavery in all the territories optional with the people of the territories, as had been done by the Compromise of 1850 for the territory acquired from Mexico. The passage of this law led to much ill-feeling, and to great efforts by both Northern abolitionists and Southern slaveholders to encourage the emigration of their sympathizers to Kansas, in order to govern the decision in regard to slavery. The strife of these opposing parties became so serious as to result in much bloodshed, and from 1854 to 1859 that territory deserved the name of "Bleeding Kansas," and during much of that time it was in a state of civil war.

JAMES BUCHANAN, 1791-1868. ONE TERM, 1857-1861.

Mr. Pierce took no prominent part in public affairs after his retirement from the Presidency. The Whig party had now finally disappeared, and in the election of 1856 the Democrats were once more successful. James Buchanan was a Pennsylvania lawyer, a graduate of Dickinson College, and so prominent in his profession that his name



appears in the "Pennsylvania Reports," between 1812 and 1831, more frequently than that of any other lawyer. He had served ten years in Congress, had represented his country as Minister to Russia and to England, and as Secretary of State under President Polk had been called upon to adjust questions of the gravest and most delicate character.

#### DRED SCOTT DECISION.

At the opening of his administration the public strife was greatly allayed by the general confidence in the ability and the high patriotism of the President; but the announcement of the "Dred Scott Decision," which had been deferred so as not to give new cause for excitement during a Presidential campaign, stirred the nation to a degree before unknown. This decision declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, and therefore void, that Congress has no right to forbid the carrying of slaves into any State or territory, and opened all the free States to at least a temporary establishment of slavery. This was the beginning of the end of the contest. The attempt of John Brown, a citizen of Kansas, with about twenty men, to liberate the slaves in Virginia, their seizure of the government buildings at Harper's Ferry, their capture, and the hanging of the leader, with six of his men, only hastened the final conflict.

#### PANIC OF 1857.

A great business panic occurred in 1857, and the discovery of silver in Nevada and Colorado the following year; the no less important discovery of petroleum and natural gas in Pennsylvania occurred in 1859.

After the Presidential election of 1860 it became evident that the South would not quietly submit to the defeat which they had received, and South Carolina, followed by six other Southern States, adopted "ordinances of secession," assuming to dissolve their union with the other States, and declaring themselves free and independent nations. The President took no action to prevent secession, and most of the forts, arsenals, and other national property within these States were seized. Mr. Buchanan retired to private life at the close of his term as President.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1809-1865. TWO TERMS (DIED IN OFFICE),  
1861-1865.

Of all the men since Washington who have been President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln holds the largest share in the affections of the people. His lowly origin, his early poverty and privation, and never-failing kindness with which throughout his life he met all classes of men, and the homely and genial wit which enlivened his discussion of grave matters of state as well as his casual and friendly conversation, gave him a place in the hearts of the common people not held by any other American, while his unequaled knowledge of men, his ability to cope with unforeseen difficulties, his lofty purpose and perfect honesty, together with his practical good sense, not only brought him the respect and esteem of all who came to know him, but place him among the greatest statesmen, not of America alone, but of all countries in all times.

Born and reared in the backwoods, with nothing in his surroundings to stimulate ambition, chopping wood and splitting rails, learning to read from the spelling-book and the Bible, sitting up half the night to read *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Æsop's Fables* "by the blaze of the logs his own axe had split," he came to manhood with little education, but with perfect health and gigantic strength. At the age of twenty-five he took up the study of law, and early began to take part in the local political movements. He had represented his district in Congress, but at the time of his nomination for President had little reputation outside of Illinois.

#### THE CIVIL WAR.

He came to the Presidency amid a multitude of adverse circumstances. With seven States already seceded, the border States apparently ready to follow, with the capital surrounded by a hostile population, and without the confidence of the leaders of his own party, his would indeed seem a difficult task. His first measures were intended to convince the people of the South, if they were willing to be convinced, that he had no hostile intention, but at the same time that he proposed to "preserve, protect, and defend" the Union, and to maintain the rights and the authority of the government. The story of the War of the Rebellion cannot be told here. It is a story the like

of which forms part of the history of no other nation—the story of a war engaging at one time 1,700,000 men, the war debt of the North, represent but a part of the cost of the war, amounting to \$3,000,000,000, and the expense frequently exceeding \$3,500,000 a day.

#### EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

Aside from the essential military features of the war, the most notable event of Mr. Lincoln's administration was the freeing of the slaves, which was done as a war measure, by the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863, thus finally, after the expiration of nearly a hundred years, making good in our country the words of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal."

It can be truthfully said that President Lincoln carried the administration of the government in this troublous time, not only as a load upon his brain, but as a burden in his heart; a united country was the object of all his efforts, and when, only a month after his second inauguration, he was assassinated by a misguided and mistaken Southern sympathizer, the bullet of the murderer removed as true a friend as the South possessed. The war was already at an end, and had Abraham Lincoln lived to rebuild and reconstruct the Union he had saved, many of the difficulties of the era of reconstruction might have been avoided—difficulties whose evil effects have not yet disappeared from our national politics.

ANDREW JOHNSON, 1808-1875. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1865-1869.

Andrew Johnson was a native of North Carolina. He was the son of poor parents, and learning the tailor's trade, he earned his living for a number of years as a journeyman. He taught himself to read, and after emigrating to Tennessee he learned from his wife to write and cipher. He represented his district for several terms in Congress, and was chosen United States Senator in 1857. He was nominated for Vice-President by the Republicans in 1864, mainly to invite votes from the opposite party, as until the war he had been a consistent Democrat. Unfortunately, he differed with the leading Republicans in Congress on the question of the manner in which the States lately in rebellion were to resume their places in the government, and the difference grew into a violent quarrel, which lasted



till the close of his term, and resulted, in 1868, in the impeachment of the President by Congress. He was acquitted, however, the vote in the Senate lacking one of the two-thirds necessary to convict. The chief political events of the administration were the readmission of six of the seceded States and the adoption of three amendments to the Constitution—the Thirteenth, abolishing slavery; the Fourteenth, making the negro a citizen, and the Fifteenth, giving him the right to vote.

During this time, also, the government began the payment of the war debt, the first Atlantic cable was laid, and Alaska was added to our national domain.

ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT, 1822-1868. TWO TERMS, 1869-1877.

The success which had attended the Union armies after they passed under the command of General Ulysses S. Grant made him the popular idol and obviously the most available candidate for President. He was a native of Ohio, a graduate of West Point, and had served in the Mexican War, where he was promoted for meritorious conduct in battle. At the opening of the Civil War he raised a company of volunteers in Illinois, of which State he was then a citizen, was soon made a brigadier-general, and from that point the story of his life is a part of the history of the war.

General Grant was the recipient of honors from foreign rulers and governments such as have been bestowed upon no other American President. His fame as a general was recognized throughout the world, and although he had no experience in civil affairs, he had the tact to call into his Cabinet men of great ability, and while he may have been sometimes misled by designing men, his administration was so popular that he was re-elected by a greatly increased majority, and indeed might have been chosen for a third term, had not the public feeling been found so strongly opposed to violating the custom inaugurated by Washington of giving to no President more than two terms of office. During these two terms the first Pacific railway was completed; representatives from all the remaining seceded States were admitted to Congress; a treaty was concluded with England providing for the arbitration of the Alabama and other claims, which seemed at one time likely to involve the two countries in war; the great fires in Chicago and Boston destroyed many millions of property; a panic of

almost unprecedented severity occurred (1873), and the Centennial Exhibition took place at Philadelphia. After the close of his term as President, General Grant made a tour of the world, being everywhere received with the greatest honor, after which he resided in New York until attacked by the disease which ended his life on Mount McGregor, in 1885.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, 1822-1893. ONE TERM, 1877-1881.

It has frequently happened that when several rival leaders of the same political party have been candidates for President, the Presidential Convention has found it wisest to nominate some less prominent man, thus avoiding the loss which might result from the choice of either of the more conspicuous aspirants for the office, and the consequent offense to the supporters of the others. This was the case when a successor to General Grant was to be chosen. While Rutherford B. Hayes had been a brigadier-general in the Union Army, and had twice been elected Governor of Ohio, he was by no means conspicuous as a national leader. There was great dissatisfaction with the course of the men who had obtained control of the political machinery of the Republican party, and the election depended on the counting of the electoral votes of Louisiana and Florida. To settle the legality of these votes, the famous Electoral Commission was appointed by Congress, and decided in favor of General Hayes as against his competitor, Samuel J. Tilden. The quiet and peaceful solution of this dispute is one of the greatest triumphs of our system of government. The Republican party had been in office for four Presidential terms, had successfully conducted the affairs of the nation during the trying and dangerous periods of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Many of the measures which had been during this time adopted as a part of our system had been consistently and strenuously opposed by the Democrats. Under these circumstances the Republicans viewed the possible accession to power of the Democratic party with a degree of alarm, which has since proved to be unjustifiable. Each party claimed, and probably believed, that its candidate had been elected, and each was disposed to insist on its rights under the Constitution. Such a dispute in a country where men's passions are less under the control of their reason, would inevitably have led to civil war. The two Houses of Congress were of different politics,

and their agreement upon what seemed an equitable method of adjusting the dispute, together with the acquiescence of all parties in the decision of the tribunal thus created, make it a remarkable instance of the adaptability of our institutions, and go far to justify the most complete faith in their permanence. General Hayes was a successful lawyer, a life-long citizen of Ohio, and while his administration gave great offense to many political leaders, it was generally satisfactory to the people. At the close of his term he retired to his native State.

The chief events of his Presidency were: His withdrawal of troops from the South, thus leaving the people of that section to settle their own questions in their own way; the great railroad and coal strikes, during which United States troops had to be employed to suppress violence at Pittsburg, and the resumption of specie payments, in 1879.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, 1831-1881. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1881.

The twentieth President was likewise a citizen of Ohio. The early life of James A. Garfield was somewhat similar to that of Abraham Lincoln. He had, however, the advantage of early contact with cultivated people, and while he at one time drove mules upon the tow-path of a canal, and paid for his tuition by acting as janitor of the school house, he had opportunities for education of which he availed himself to the utmost, paying his own way through school and finally graduating at Williams College. At the opening of the war he entered the Union Army, and was promoted for his services at the battle of Chickamauga to the rank of major-general. He left the army to enter Congress, where he took a leading part, and was chosen Senator for Ohio, but before taking his seat was elected President. He surrounded himself with able advisers, and high hopes were entertained of a notably successful administration, when he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, dying after two months of suffering, during which the public sympathy was excited to an extraordinary degree and was manifested in every possible way.

The single event for which the few months of his Presidency are remarkable is the quarrel between the President and Senator Conkling, of New York, as to some of the Federal appointments in that State. The Senator from New York resigned, and the difficulty was not adjusted at the time of the President's death.



CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR, 1830-1886. ONE PARTIAL TERM, 1881-1885.

The Vice-President elected with Garfield was Chester A. Arthur, of New York. He was not widely known outside of his own State before his nomination, and he was made the candidate in order to retain the favor of a large portion of the Republican party in New York, which had advocated the claims of another candidate, and it was feared would not otherwise assist in the election of Garfield.

Mr. Arthur had great experience as a political manager, but little knowledge of the manner in which the government is conducted; but he proved a careful, conscientious President, and the country was well satisfied with his administration. As he had been an adherent of the political faction with which President Garfield, at the time of his assassination, was at war, he was placed in an exceedingly delicate position, and grave fears were entertained by many people that backward steps would be taken; but the new President extricated himself from his difficulties with a dignity and a tact which astonished even those who knew him best, and which gained for him the respect of the entire country.

During the term of President Arthur, Congress passed the Civil Service Act, providing for the appointment of subordinate employees of the government on the basis of merit rather than that of political influence; the completion of the great East River Bridge united the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and the immense growth and prosperity of the New South justified the brightest anticipations for the future of that section. Mr. Arthur died in New York a few months after the close of his term.

STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND, 1837. FIRST TERM, 1885-1889.  
SECOND TERM, 1893-1897.

The Republican party had now held control of the government for twenty-five years, and Grover Cleveland was the first Democratic President since Buchanan. Although a native of New Jersey, he had been since boyhood a citizen of New York. He began the study of law in Buffalo at the age of eighteen, and early took an active part in politics. Having filled several local offices, he was, in 1882, elected Governor of the State by a phenomenal majority, and in 1884 was the successful candidate for President.

The transfer of the government from the hands of one political party to its opponent resulted in no disturbance to the business or social relations of the people, and although a large number of office-holders were replaced by men of the opposite political faith, the business of the government went on as before.

During Cleveland's administration laws were enacted providing for the succession to the Presidency of the various members of the Cabinet in case of the death or disability of the President and Vice-President; laying down rules for the counting of the electoral votes, thus supplying the strange deficiency of the Constitution in this respect; regulating interstate commerce, and forbidding the immigration of Chinese laborers into this country. Events of great importance were the extended labor strikes, which occurred in 1886, and the Anarchist riot in Chicago in May of that year. Although his administration had been very satisfactory to the country at large, Mr. Cleveland failed of re-election, the principal question at issue being that of a protective tariff. He left Washington to take up the practice of law in New York City.

#### BENJAMIN HARRISON, 1833. ONE TERM, 1889-1893.

Mr. Cleveland was succeeded by General Benjamin Harrison, who secured 233 electoral votes to 168 cast for Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Harrison was the grandson of the ninth President, and the great-grandson of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was a native of Ohio, was well educated, and was for many years one of the leading lawyers of Indiana. He entered the Union army in 1862, and was promoted until, near the close of the war, he reached the rank of brigadier-general. He was made a United States Senator in 1880, and came to the Presidency well equipped for the discharge of its duties.

During his four years of service many events took place which have had great weight in molding the future of the country. A Congress of the American Republics met in Washington, in 1889, and devised measures by which it was hoped to bring about a closer commercial union between the Americans; six new States were added to the Union; the tariff laws were revised and clauses added granting to such nations as offer us reciprocal advantages free admission for certain of their exports; the country is being rapidly furnished with a

new and efficient navy; the long-standing difficulty with England concerning seal fishing in Behring Sea was adjusted by a treaty providing for arbitration, and annoying difficulties with Germany, Italy and Chile were happily settled.

#### DEMOCRATIC LANDSLIDE.

The Presidential campaign of 1892 was remarkable in several respects. The leading candidates, ex-President Cleveland and President Harrison, were both men of the highest character and integrity, each of whom had served the country with notable ability as President for a term of four years. The people were, therefore, so well acquainted with the candidates that personalities entered little into the campaign, and the canvass was conducted with less popular enthusiasm and excitement than ever before. The question most largely discussed was that of the McKinley tariff, but other important questions, such as the free coinage of silver and the revival of State banks, entered largely into the discussion, and had much to do with influencing the result, especially in the Western States, where party lines were very largely broken up. The result of the election was almost a political revolution, ex-President Cleveland being elected by an overwhelming majority. The Populists also polled a very large vote.

The result of the election was generally accepted as meaning a condemnation of the McKinley tariff. For the first time in thirty years the Democratic party had full possession of all branches of the government.

#### GROVER CLEVELAND, 1893-1897. PANIC OF 1893.

In the spring and summer of 1893 the country experienced an unexpected and remarkable stringency in the money market, which was largely attributed to the operations of what is known as the Sherman law, by which the government was compelled to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month. President Cleveland called an extra session of Congress to meet early in August, for the purpose of repealing the purchasing clause of the "Sherman Law." This appeared to bring some relief in the way of restoring confidence, but it did not come until the country had suffered greatly from the general depression of trade and the withdrawal of credits. The banks in New York, Philadelphia and Boston declined to pay large sums on



the checks of their customers in currency, but insisted upon payments being accepted in Clearing House certificates. President Cleveland was very generally commended for his wise and patriotic action in dealing with the questions affecting the public interest during this critical period, though he met with serious opposition within his own party.

#### THE HAWAIIAN DIFFICULTY.

One of the most unusual and important events of 1893 was the movement for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands. Early in the year, by a successful revolution, without bloodshed, the native Queen, Lilioukalani, was overthrown and a provisional government established, the chief officers of which were Americans by birth or parentage. A proposition for annexation was made by them to the United States, and a treaty looking to that end was negotiated under the administration of President Harrison, and sent to the Senate for ratification. On President Cleveland's accession to office in March, he withdrew the treaty, and sent Hon. James H. Blount as commissioner to Hawaii to make further investigation. After some months Mr. Blount made a report, stating that the Hawaiian revolution had been accomplished by the active aid of the American minister, who had used American war vessels and troops for that purpose. The President thereupon made a demand upon the provisional government that the Queen should be restored, and in a special message to Congress urged that view. The provisional government of Hawaii, however, declined to comply, and Congress took no measures to restore the monarchy. The affair occasioned intense feeling in the United States, public opinion in regard to annexation and the policy of the President being sharply divided.

#### CHINA AND JAPAN.

During the war between China and Japan, in 1894, President Cleveland had a conspicuous opportunity to show the world the great advantage this country enjoys as a mediator between other belligerent nations, owing to our well-known policy of avoiding foreign entanglements.

## CONFLICT BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR.

In July, 1894, occurred one of the most tremendous conflicts between capital and labor that have ever taken place in this country. The American Railway Union, a labor organization of railway employees, ordered a general strike on all railroads running Pullman cars. For two weeks traffic was almost at a standstill, and a reign of terror existed in Chicago, and also in parts of California and other States of the West. The railroad tracks entering Chicago were besieged by a violent mob; cars were derailed and burned, switches torn up, miles of loaded freight cars set on fire, and every means employed to stop completely the movement of trains. President Cleveland finally sent troops of the regular army to Chicago, and the riot was soon quelled. In December, 1894, Eugene V. Debs and other leaders of the strike were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

## ANOTHER POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

The autumn of 1894 brought a political revolution even greater than that of 1892—the Republicans being nearly everywhere victorious. The universal depression of business, and the failure of Congress to deal with the tariff and financial measures, created a great revulsion of feeling against the Democrats, who were overwhelmingly defeated in nearly every State of the Union. The extent of the revolution is shown by the fact that while the House of Representatives elected in 1892 contained 219 Democrats and 127 Republicans, the House elected in 1894 contained 104 Democrats and 246 Republicans.

The Presidential nominations of 1896 showed that the President did not have the full support of his party. His administration was not endorsed except by the gold wing, which held a convention at Indianapolis.

William McKinley was inaugurated March 4, 1897, having Congress in both branches of the same political faith as himself. The Senate of the Fifty-fifth Congress stood: Democrats, 34; Republicans, 46; Independents and Populists, 10. The House, Democrats, 134; Republicans, 206; Independents and Populists, 16. In the Fifty-sixth Congress it stood: Senate, Democrats, 26; Republicans, 55; Independents, 9. In the House: Democrats, 163; Republicans, 185; Independents, 9.

WILLIAM M'KINLEY, 1843-1901. FIRST TERM, 1897-1901. SECOND PARTIAL TERM, 1901.

In the summer of 1900 the Cuban people were asked to hold a convention and form a constitution, with the single proviso that it should contain no clauses favoring European aggression or inimical to American interests. This done, American troops and officials would be withdrawn and Cuba be given over to the Cubans.

The occupation of Porto Rico, on the contrary, was permanent. It had been fully ceded to the United States, and steps were taken to make it a constituent part of that country. But the period of transition from Spanish to American rule was not favorable to the interests of the people, who suffered severely, their business being wrecked by tariff discrimination. Action by Congress was demanded, and a bill was passed greatly reducing the tariff in Porto Rico, but not giving free trade with the United States, though many held that this was the constitutional right of the islanders. Under this new tariff business was resumed, and the lost prosperity of the island was gradually restored.

The occupation of our new possessions in the Pacific presented serious difficulties. This was not the case with Hawaii, which fell peacefully under its new rule, and in 1900 was made a territory of the United States. With the Philippine Islands the case was different. There hostility to American rule soon showed itself, and eventually an insurrection began, leading to a war, which proved far more protracted and sanguinary than that with Spain.

#### THE INSURRECTION IN LUZON.

On the 30th of December, 1898, President McKinley had issued a proclamation to the Philippine people, in which he offered them a large measure of local self-government, the right to hold office, a fair judiciary and freedom of speech and of the press. These concessions were not satisfactory to their leaders, and in January, 1899, a conference was held with General Otis in which the Philippine spokesman demanded a greater degree of self-government than he had authority to grant. As the debate in the Senate upon the treaty of peace with Spain approached its termination, and promised to end in the ratification of the treaty and the cession of the islands to the



United States, the restlessness and hostility of the natives increased, and on the night of February 4th the threatened outbreak came, in a fierce attack on the American outposts at Manila. A severe battle ensued, continuing for two days, and ending in the defeat of the natives, who had suffered severely and were driven back for miles beyond the city limits. This inaugurated the Philippine war, which was speedily organized by the formation of a native republic, with Emilio Aguinaldo as President and Commander-in-Chief of the army. Not until the capture of this brave leader by a ruse of General Funston was the war successfully brought to an end.

#### THE BOXER OUTBREAK.

Meanwhile the aggressions of European powers in China had aroused the sentiment of the Dowager-Empress against modernization, and she seized the government with a coterie of conservative advisers.

This revolution in the palace soon made itself felt in the hovel. A secret society of the common people, known as "The Boxers," rose in arms, made a murderous onslaught upon the missionaries, who were widely domiciled within the realm, and soon appeared in the capital. Here, aided by many of the soldiers, and led by men high in rank in the anti-foreign party, they made a virulent assault upon the legation buildings, and put the ministers of the nations in imminent peril of their lives. These exalted officials were cut off from all communication with their governments, stories of their massacre alone filtering through, and the powers, roused to desperation by the danger of their envoys, sent ships and troops in all haste to the nearest point to Peking. In this movement the United States actively joined, its minister, Edwin H. Conger, and the members of the embassy sharing the common peril.

A small force, made up of soldiers and marines of various nations, under Admiral Seymour, of the British navy, set out on June 11th for Peking. This movement failed. The railroad was found to be torn up, a strong force of Chinese blocked the way, and Seymour and his men were forced to turn back and barely escaped with their lives.

At the same time a naval attack was made on the forts at Taku; Admiral Remey, of the United States Navy, refusing to take part in this ill-advised action. Its immediate result was an assault in force by

Boxers and troops on the foreign quarter of the city of Tien Tsin, in which the Chinese fought with an unexpected skill and persistence. They were repulsed, but only after the hardest fight which foreigners had ever experienced on Chinese soil. Early in August a force, consisting of some 16,000 Japanese, Russians, Americans and British, set out for Pekin. A severe struggle was looked for, and their ability to reach Pekin seemed very doubtful. At Peitsang, some twelve miles on the route, the Chinese made a desperate resistance, which augured ill for the enterprise. On the 14th the gates of the capital were assailed, the feeble opposition from within was overcome, and the troops marched in triumph to the British legation, the stout walls of which had offered a haven of refuge to the imperiled legationers. So far as the United States was concerned, the work was at an end. That country wanted no share in the partition of China. All it demanded was an "open door" to commerce, an equal share in the important Chinese trade. No sooner was its minister rescued than it was announced that the American troops would be withdrawn as soon as proper relations with the Chinese Government had been consummated, and that in no case would the United States support any land-seizing projects of the nations of Europe.

#### THE LEGAL STATUS OF OUR INSULAR POSSESSIONS.

The presence of the President in Washington was needed, for important political questions had arisen demanding his immediate attention and extended consultation with the members of his Cabinet. These arose in consequence of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States fixing the status of our insular possessions. In a number of instances duties had been collected on goods imported from Porto Rico and Hawaii to this country, and in one instance fourteen diamonds brought by a soldier from the Philippine Islands had been seized for non-payment of duty. A decision was rendered by this court on May 28, 1901, to the effect, that before the Treaty of Paris Porto Rico was a foreign country and its exports were subject to full duties. After that treaty it became a domestic territory, and as such subject to the jurisdiction of Congress while it continued a territorial possession, the decision being that Congress has the right to administer the government of a territory and to lay such duties upon its

commerce as it deems suitable. The effect of this decision was that, from the signing of the Treaty of Paris till the passage of the Foraker act fixing the duties at 15 per cent, no duties could legally be collected on Porto Rican goods. After that act was passed the duties designated by it could be exacted.

This crucial decision fixed the status of all our insular possessions under civil control. But the court adjourned without rendering an opinion on the Philippine case, and as the Philippine Islands differed from Porto Rico in being under military control, the question as to the right of the government to collect duties upon Philippine goods remained unsettled. Many held that the President had no authority to exact duties, and that it would be necessary to call an extra session of Congress in order to pass a law governing the Philippine customs; but the President decided that this was not needed, and that existing acts of Congress governed this special case.

#### AFFAIRS IN CUBA AND CHINA.

This was one of the questions which confronted President McKinley on his return to Washington. Another had to do with Cuban affairs. The Cuban Constitutional Convention had accepted the act of Congress fixing the relations between the United States and Cuba and establishing what might be called a mild form of protectorate over the island; but its acceptance was vitiated by conditions which the President declined to accept, and the question was returned to the convention with the decisive understanding that the Platt amendment must be accepted in its entirety, or the military occupation of Cuba would necessarily continue. On June 12, 1901, the Cuban Convention accepted this amendment in its original form, and the sole obstacle to Cuban independence was removed.

Meanwhile the Chinese situation had been modified by the withdrawal of the American troops, except a legation guard; other nations also ordering the withdrawal of their troops and restoring the government to the Chinese. The indemnity demanded from and accepted by China amounted to \$237,000,000, with interest at not over 4 per cent. This large sum was objected to by the United States Government, but was adopted on the demand of the other nations concerned.



## OTHER EVENTS OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE.

Among other events of national importance was the settlement of the vexed question of the number of soldiers in the army. The provision to make it 100,000 men was modified on suggestion of General Miles, and the number fixed at 76,000, making one soldier for every 1,000 of the population. The problem of a ship canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific was also given a new phase by a proposition from the French Panama Canal Company to sell their partly completed canal to the United States. This opened the question as to the comparative availability of the two routes, the Nicaragua and the Panama, and left the final choice open to future decision.

One of the most striking events of the year 1901 was the formation of an industrial combination on an unprecedented scale, a gigantic union of the steel-manufacturing interests of the country, and the immense capital of \$1,100,000,000. A line of steamships was purchased in the interest of this concern, the railroad magnates of the country added to their holdings, and showed indications of an eventual general combination of transportation facilities, and the public stood aghast at these vast operations, in doubt as to where they would end, or how the interests of the great multitude would be affected. In the spring of 1902 this combination of interests was added to by a stupendous amalgamation of the transatlantic steamship lines, embracing nearly all the great passenger and freight steamships plying between Europe and America; the whole controlled by the American capitalists, who were at the head of the new steel and railroad combinations. It was with such vast financial and industrial operations that the new century began its career.

## ASSASSINATION OF M'KINLEY.

On the afternoon of Friday, September 6, 1901, this country and the whole world were thrown into consternation as the news was flashed over the wires that President McKinley had fallen by the hand of an assassin. There was every hope at first that he would recover, but after some days there came a relapse, and, although all that surgical and medical skill could do was done, President McKinley died early on the morning of September 14th.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, 1858. PARTIAL TERM, 1901-1904.

By the provision of the Constitution governing the succession, Theodore Roosevelt, the Vice-President, became President of the United States upon the death of William McKinley. He was at the time seeking recreation in the Adirondacks, but, on receiving the news, he sped with all haste to Buffalo, where, on September 14th, he took the oath of office, at the same time pledging himself to carry out the policy of his predecessor. In addition to his pledge to conform to the policy of the McKinley administration, he requested all the members of the Cabinet to remain in office till the end of his term. These assurances dissipated the feeling of dread that the new President might inaugurate an untried and disastrous policy, as in some previous instances of the same kind.

#### THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

Several events of much importance took place in the early months of the new administration, chief among them being definite preliminary negotiations toward the construction of an isthmiian canal. As a result of the offer of sale by the French Panama Canal Company, for \$40,000,000, and the subsequent report in favor of the Panama route, under the new circumstances, by the canal commission, a treaty was negotiated with Colombia on January 22, 1903, giving to the United States the requisite powers to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, with "the use and control" of a strip of territory five kilometers (three miles) wide on each side of the canal, all the requisite right of neutrality and defense being guaranteed. For these rights and privileges the United States was to pay Colombia \$10,000,000, and after the first nine years a rental of \$250,000 annually.

On June 19th, the Senate passed a bill in accordance with this treaty, agreeing to pay the French company \$40,000,00 for its rights in the unfinished canal, and to Colombia such sum as might be agreed upon, and authorizing the President, in case the Panama route should not be acquired, to take steps toward the construction of a canal by the Nicaragua route. The Republic of Colombia was given eight months from January 22d for the ratification of the treaty, little doubt being felt on this point; but the Senate of that country, for reasons not clearly defined, rejected the treaty.

The people of Panama, angered at the prospective loss of the canal, which they ardently desired, proclaimed a revolution and the establishment of an independent republic on November 3, 1903. From that time events moved rapidly. A brief bombardment of the city of Panama by a Colombian gunboat on the 3d, the landing of United States marines to protect the railway property on the 4th, the evacuation of Colon by the Colombian troops on the 5th, the tentative recognition of the new government of Panama by the United States on the 6th, and the reception of Philippe Bunan-Varilla as Minister from the new republic on the 13th, were the chief occurrences.

On November 18th a canal treaty between the United States and Panama was signed by Secretary Hay and Minister Varilla, and was ratified shortly afterward by the authorities of the new government. This treaty differed from the previous one, in favor of the United States, in the following particulars: It conceded a strip of five miles wide on each side of the canal, a perpetual lease, and absolute control by the United States of the canal strip in police, judicial and sanitary matters, while the \$10,000,000 bonus and the annual lease were to be paid to Panama instead of Colombia.

#### CUBAN RECIPROCITY.

Among the measures considered during this session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, one of the most important had to do with Cuban affairs. In accordance with the constitution adopted for the new Republic of Cuba, an election was held on the last day of 1901, Tomas Estrada Palma being chosen for President. The final act in giving full independence to the island republic was the withdrawal of United States troops, which was fixed to take place May 20, 1902.

President Roosevelt, feeling that we owed some degree of protection to the country which he had launched on the high seas of independence, advocated in his message a measure of tariff reciprocity with Cuba, and a bill was finally approved December 16th. The President signed the treaty on the following day, December 17, 1903. The treaty provided that a reduction of 20 per cent from the rates of the Dingley tariff bill of 1897 should be made on all articles of Cuban production imported into the United States; Cuba agreeing in return to make reductions from her tariff rates ranging from 20 to 40 per



cent on all imported articles of United States production. Thus was settled a question which had remained open since 1898.

#### THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE.

Roosevelt's first administration was notable for events of great importance in the industrial field. The greatest industrial upheaval of the period, a dispute between the anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania and the operators, ended in a serious strike, nearly one hundred and fifty thousand miners being involved. This strike began on May 15, 1902, and continued until late in the autumn, by which time anthracite coal had grown so scarce and high in price as to cause intense fear of suffering from cold. Coal went up to \$20 and more per ton and was hard to get at any price.

The situation at length grew so intolerable that President Roosevelt sought to settle it, and the workmen were finally induced to accept the decision of a commission of arbitration appointed by him. In consequence, on October 20th, the strike came to an end. The commissioners chosen were Judge George Gray, of the United States Circuit Court; General John M. Wilson, United States Army; Edward W. Parker, Edward E. Clark, Thomas H. Watkins, Bishop John L. Spalding, and Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor. The commission began its sessions on October 24th, and continued in session for several months. Its final decision was accepted with satisfaction by both parties, each gaining some of the points in contention, and this ended a labor dispute which had affected the people at large more widely and seriously than any other ever known in this country.

#### THE BOUNDARY OF ALASKA.

The boundary between Alaska and Canada, which had been a subject of serious dispute since the discovery of the valuable gold deposits of the Klondike, was finally adjusted in 1903 in favor of the United States. Canada alleged that the true meaning of the boundary established in 1825 by treaty between Russia and Great Britain was that the line should not follow the windings of the coast at ten leagues inland, but should be measured from a line intersecting headlands and promontories along the coast. This would have given Canada the head of Lynn Canal and access to the sea without crossing United States territory.

## DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

To the eight executive departments of the government—those of State, War, Navy, Treasury, Post Office, Justice and Interior and Agriculture—a ninth was added in February, 1903, entitled the "Department of Commerce and Industry," to take control of the rapidly growing interests of exports, manufactures, transportation and internal commerce, in which the United States had reached the head of the great nations of the world. To indicate the magnitude of the business interests involved, it may be stated that the Bureau of Statistics, which became a part of the new department, estimated the internal commerce of the country alone at \$20,000,000,000, or equal to the entire international commerce of the world. George B. Cortelyou, who had served as secretary to the President during several administrations, was placed at the head of the new department, and became a ninth member of the President's cabinet.

## THE REGULATION OF TRUSTS.

In President Roosevelt's message to Congress of December 2, 1902, an earnest appeal was made for legislation for the regulation and control of industrial organizations, or trusts, to prevent their becoming monopolies, and in this way operating against the public welfare. In response to this appeal Congress passed a bill for the prevention of discrimination or the giving of rebates in railroad freight charges, making favoritism of this kind punishable by fine and imprisonment.

Since then, down to the present, the fight against corruption under a fearless President has waxed warmer and hotter, until the nation has been thrown into a seething current of reform. Every great corporation dealing in public necessities or services has passed under the scalpel of investigation, and punishment has been meted out and reform inaugurated where the people's interest demanded. The Standard Oil Company, the railroads and the meat trusts were singled out and investigated and regulated as had never before been done. Life insurance extravagance was curbed, and a general straightening up of business methods and improvement of business morals has characterized Roosevelt's two administrations.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### DRAMATIC PASSAGES, TRICKS AND TURNING POINTS IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

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BY GEORGE BARTON,

DISTINGUISHED WRITER ON POLITICAL HISTORY.

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#### THE ORATORY OF NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Twelve years ago, an eloquent Nebraskan, by a single flight of oratory, captured a great national convention, and nominated himself for the Presidency. It has truly been said that no more startling individual triumph has been recorded in the politics of the century than that which followed the one effort which enabled William Jennings Bryan to emerge "from mist and obscurity into the bright sunlight."

This remarkable triumph naturally directs attention to the power of political oratory and its ability to sway the emotions and the reasons of men. The convention halls of great political parties are the national forums wherein the ablest and most eloquent of American orators are incited to their loftiest efforts. If we except Blaine's eulogy of the martyred Garfield, and John Hay's admirable oration on the murdered McKinley, both of which are sure to be numbered among the classics, few great political orations are comparable with those notable efforts which sometimes illumine the proceedings of national political conventions.

It has often been doubted whether oratory, or even eloquence has any part in bringing about the deliberate results of these large conventions. James A. Garfield, in the speech which he made in the National Republican Convention at Chicago in 1880, nominating John Sherman for the Presidency, put this doubt into words. He said that not in that brilliant gathering, where fifteen thousand



men and women were assembled, was the destiny of the Republic to be decreed; not there, where he saw the enthusiastic faces of 756 delegates waiting to cast their votes into the urn and determine the wishes of their party; but by four million Republican firesides, where the thoughtful fathers, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and love of country, with the history of the past, the hope of the future, and the knowledge of the great men who had adorned and blessed the nation in days gone by—there God would prepare the verdict that should determine the wisdom of the work about to be performed by the convention. Some of these sentiments cannot be gainsaid; but it is quite certain that in the days gone by men have captured the multitude by the magic of their voices, and it is possible that history may still repeat itself.

#### CONKLING'S NOMINATION OF GRANT.

The late Roscoe Conkling had few equals as a speaker, and his address nominating General Grant for the Presidency at the Chicago Convention in 1880, still stands forth as a masterpiece of nominating oratory. His opening sentence captured the convention, or at least that portion of it which stood by Grant so loyally to the last. It was, "When asked whence comes our candidate, we say, from Appomattox." That single sentence cast a flood of light upon the whole history of the candidate who was about to be placed in nomination. It showed the grim unpretending soldier who had little to say, but who always achieved notable results. Some of the other paragraphs in that notable address will live forever, and have been used and re-used in their entirety and in modified forms by political orators from that day to this. For instance, note this sentence against the enemies of Grant: "The ammunition of calumny has all been exploded; the powder has all been burned at once; its force is spent, and General Grant's name will glitter as a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the Republic when they who have tried to tarnish it will have mouldered in forgotten graves and their memories and epitaphs have vanished utterly." And then its conclusion, which was: "We have only to listen above the din and look beyond the dust of an hour to behold the Republican party advancing to victory, with its greatest marshal at its head." Senator Conkling's

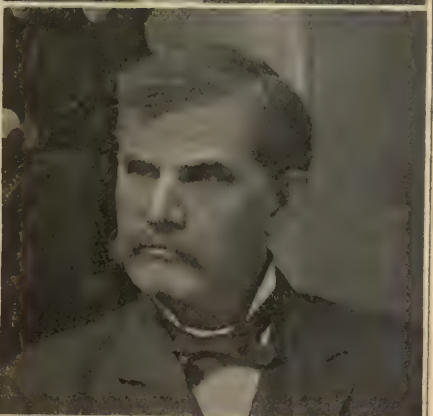
oratory breathed of his personality—it was dogmatic, majestic and imperious; but in spite of all this and the unwavering persistence of the 306, Grant did not obtain the nomination in that convention.

#### BLAINE, THE PLUMED KNIGHT.

Another notable nominating speech was the oration—for such it was—wherein Robert G. Ingersoll placed the names of James G. Blaine before the Republican delegates who had gathered in national convention at Cincinnati in 1876. Ingersoll said that the country crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asked for a man who had the audacity of genius; asked for a man who was the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain beneath her flag. Then he pictured Blaine as a statesman who had preserved in Congress what our soldiers had won upon the field; and from this proceeded to discuss the charges that had been made against Blaine by his enemies. He accounted for them by saying that Blaine was the man who had torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander, and who was, moreover, an intellectual athlete who had stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers. Then came that imperishable sentence: "Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor." This is the portion of Ingersoll's address which will live when the other parts of it have been forgotten. And yet his peroration aroused his hearers to a state of almost hysterical enthusiasm. It was when he said that Illinois, in nominating Blaine for the Presidency, did so in the name of the Republic, in the name of all her defenders, in the name of all her supporters, in the name of all her soldiers living, in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the field of battle, and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby. It was also in this speech that Ingersoll gave Blaine that other caption, "The Prince of Parliamentarians."

#### GARFIELD'S BOOMERANG SPEECH.

General Garfield was a splendid orator—a fact that he demonstrated both on the floor of the House of Representatives and the

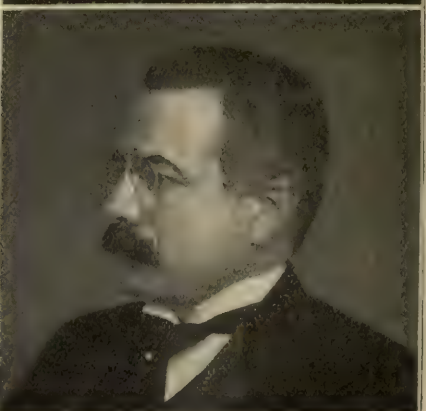
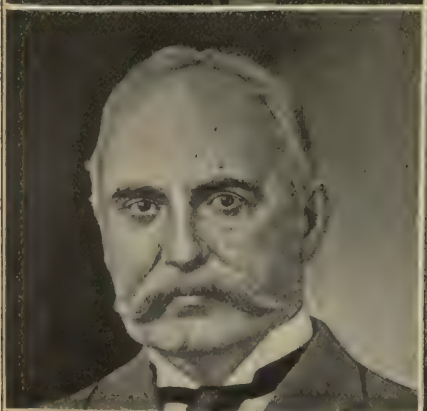


**LEADING STATESMEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.**

Senator Benj. R. Tillman, South Carolina.  
 Senator Joseph W. Bailey, Texas.  
 Senator John W. Daniel, Virginia.

Joseph W. Folk, Missouri.  
 Rep. John S. Williams, Mississippi.  
 Rep. W. Bourke Cockran, New York.





LEADING MEN OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1908.

Senator Charles Dick, Ohio.  
 Senator Albert J. Beveridge, Indiana.  
 Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, Rhode Island.

Senator J. P. Dolliver, Iowa.  
 Thomas F. Gore, Oklahoma.  
 Secretary George B. Cortelyou, New York.

United States Senate. His speech in the National Republican Convention at Chicago in 1880, in nominating Blaine, has probably been one of the most discussed and most criticised pieces of nominating oratory in the last half century. Garfield's unexpected nomination for the Presidency in that convention brought with it a flood of rumors regarding his loyalty to John Sherman. Those who try to impeach his sincerity point to this nominating speech as a proof of their skepticism. There were several sentences in it that might be construed in this manner. He compared the demonstrations in the convention to an ocean in a tempest. He said he had seen the sea lashed into a fury and tossed into a spray, and had gazed upon it when its grandeur moved the soul of the dullest man; but he said that he also remembered that it was not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths were measured. Then he warned the convention that its enthusiastic temper might not mark the healthful pulse of the people. Going on in this deliberate manner, he spoke of the possibilities of defeat, and warned the delegates to deliberate very carefully before making their choice. When he said, "We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken," a voice in the gallery cried out: "Garfield, Garfield." When General Garfield went on and added, "We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness towards those we lately met in battle," several other voices among the delegates echoed and re-echoed the cry of "Garfield, Garfield." In concluding his address, he said: "I do not present him as a better Republican, or as a better man than thousands of others we honor, but I present him for your deliberate consideration. I nominate John Sherman, of Ohio." Those who desire to be critical point to this as a very cold way of presenting the name of a favorite candidate; but it is proper to say that nothing specific has ever been produced to show that General Garfield did not act with perfect good faith towards Senator Sherman in that convention.

#### HANCOCK THE "SUPERB."

Daniel Dougherty's speech nominating General Winfield Scott Hancock for the Presidency in the Democratic National Convention in Cincinnati in 1880 was also one of the notable pieces of platform oratory. The speech did not last more than five minutes; but it

compressed a great deal of meat in a very few lines of space, and brought forth a beautiful sentence by which Hancock was denominated as the "superb." Dougherty, in the ardor of his speech, cried out: "With him as our chieftain, the bloody banner of the Republicans will fall from their palsied grasp."

The speech of Daniel H. Hastings, of Pennsylvania, nominating John Sherman at another and later convention, is also pointed out as a model of what these things should be. Hastings also made a hit in the Chicago Convention of 1896, when he presented the name of Matthew Stanley Quay as the choice of the Pennsylvania delegates for the Presidency. On that occasion, Senator Platt, of New York, through Chauncey M. Depew, nominated Governor Morton, of New York, as the choice of the Empire State delegates for the Presidency. This was a compliment of both Quay and Morton, as well as a unique and delicate way of showing how the notable leaders of the party held the delegates of their State in hand. Hastings only spoke for three or four minutes, but also with great vigor and effect. His last sentence may be quoted as a specimen of how to condense a great deal of thought into a few words. It was when he said, speaking of Quay, "His mental endowments, broad-minded statesmanship, ripe experience, marvelous sagacity, unassuming modesty, knightly courage and true Americanism are unexcelled. Nominate him, and he will elect himself."

#### BRYAN'S "CROWN OF THORNS" AND "CROSS OF GOLD" SPEECH.

The most recent experience of the effect of convention hall oratory in America was that of 1896 in Chicago, when W. J. Bryan, coming in as a contested delegate, finally left the hall as the nominee of the Democratic party for the Presidency of the United States. His great "crown of thorns and cross of gold" speech was made upon the question of the adoption of the silver platform, reported on by the Committee on Resolutions. David B. Hill, of New York, made the speech on behalf of the minority of the committee, protesting against the silver plank. This speech of Hill's was really a notable effort and never received anything like the publicity or credit that it deserved. This was probably because it was calm, cold-blooded, reasoning argument from beginning to end, and one that naturally fell unheeded on the ears of the hysterically inclined delegates who



composed the greater part of the convention. The great effect of Bryan's speech came rather from the manner of its delivery than from what it actually contained. For instance, the part that was most enthusiastically applauded, and which set the convention in an uproar for nearly half an hour, was an argument in favor of the workingman in contradistinction to what is generally known as the "business man." Mr. Bryan, in this argument, said that the man who was employed for wages was as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis; that the merchant at the cross-roads store was as much a business man as the big merchant of New York; that the farmer who went forth in the morning and toiled all day was as much of a business man as the man who went upon the Board of Trade and bet upon the price of grain; that the man who went a thousand feet under the earth or climbed two thousand feet upon the cliffs and brought forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade was as much a business man as the few financial magnates who in a back room cornered the money of the world. Of course, none of these points could be controverted; but the manner in which they were set forth by Mr. Bryan and the magic of his eloquence cast a spell over the men whom he was addressing, and they received them as something entirely new. And then when he stood up in a heroic attitude and exclaimed that the silver men were fighting in defense of their homes, their families and their posterity, the applause of the multitude knew no bounds. It was at this point in his address that Mr. Bryan cried out: "You shall not press upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

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## II. THE STRATEGY OF AMERICAN POLITICS.

The chairman of the campaign committee of a great political party, in these days, is called upon to perform a task, compared to which the twelve labors of Hercules were a dull and uninteresting performance. He must have a prodigious memory, a persuasive personality, a sense of humor, an outstretched hand and a closed heart, a fertile brain, a nerve of steel, the knack of suppressing idiotic candidates, the faculty of drawing liberal contributions from unwilling pockets, the strength to keep his mouth shut when tempted to

talk, the art of appearing interested when listening to bores, the ability to pack thirty hours of work into every twenty-four-hour day, and the shrewdness to grasp, immediately, the strategic possibilities of every situation that arises during the campaign.

A distinguished soldier once said, that in all battles, a moment occurs when the bravest troops, after having made the greatest efforts, feel inclined to run. This observation applies with equal force to momentous political contests. A campaign that has lasted for months may be won or lost in a day, an hour, or a moment. The master of men, who has been in many engagements, always discerns that moment. He endeavors to inspire his troops with confidence. He is quick to conceive and prompt to execute. It is his mission to place the enemy on the defensive, and then while the men on both sides are busily engaged in mock battle, to win the day by some brilliant piece of political strategy.

The conduct of a political campaign calls for the highest order of executive intelligence. Candidates and parties no longer blunder into victory. The successive stages of a campaign are marked out with the greatest precision, and the seasoned campaigner handles his men and his materials with the same carefulness with which a captain plans his battles and moves his troops. He employs scouts and spies, and maintains an organized secret service with which he endeavors to ascertain the weakness, the strength and the general resources of the enemy. Public meetings and literature form but the smoke of battle, beneath the cover of which he executes his cleverest manœuvres and forms the lines of battle which may lead to ultimate victory.

A man of ordinary capacity can swim with the tide and make a good showing; but it requires unusual cleverness, if not positive genius, to stem the current of a losing campaign, and to grasp victory from the abyss of defeat. Timid men predominate in every army, and if a sufficient number can be influenced the result is assured. During a certain memorable campaign for a gubernatorial nomination, the victor owed his ultimate selection to two brass bands and eight transparencies. The action lay in an Eastern State, and the occasion was a fierce factional fight in the party organization. The leaders of the opposing forces were the Governor of the State and the Mayor of the chief city of the commonwealth.

The Governor had been the recognized leader of his party for many years. The Mayor, flushed with newly acquired power, sought to snatch the sceptre of authority from the older man. The issue came when the Governor announced his candidacy for renomination. The Mayor, once his friend and follower, raised the standard of revolt and placed himself at the head of the recalcitrant forces. The contest, lasting over three months, was fought with unexampled bitterness and stubbornness. Officeholders, newspapers, corporations and personal friends of the candidates threw themselves into the thick of the fight with energy and enthusiasm, until every nook and corner of the State was in an uproar. Voters argued on the street corners, wrote letters, and shouted themselves hoarse at unnumbered mass meetings. Results hinged upon the election of delegates to the State Convention. Both sides claimed to have won a majority of these delegates.

#### MAYOR AGAINST GOVERNOR.

Skirmishes in precincts, wards and districts being at an end, the battle was transferred to the State Capitol, where the convention was to be held. Each side had a number of pledged delegates, who formed a solid phalanx that could be neither bribed, bamboozled, nor bullied. Every day added to the tenseness of the situation. Here and there a doubtful delegate came out in the open and declared himself. But the gains and losses from these sources just balanced themselves. On the night before the convention, each side called a caucus of their following. It was to be the first tangible test of strength, and the result was looked forward to with undisguised anxiety.

The caucus of both factions was held behind closed doors, and admittance was by ticket only. The stuffy tobacco-laden halls where the meetings took place, were packed to the point of suffocation. It was a common saying that the Governor had taught the Mayor all that he knew about politics, but not all that he (the Governor) knew about the subtle game. The proof of that was to be demonstrated at the critical juncture. The Mayor's caucus, composed chiefly of the younger element of the party, was so filled with enthusiasm that it was difficult to call the roll. Finally order was partially restored, and the performance began. As delegate after delegate responded to his name, he was greeted with ear-splitting cheers; 189 votes were needed for a



choice; and when the secretary had ceased, 183 men had been recorded in favor of the Mayor. The result was received in dead silence. In politics, a miss is as good as a mile, and the failure of those six necessary votes to respond was accepted as the silence of defeat. Whispered conferences, pale-faced mutterings, and the confused running hither and thither only served to emphasize impending disaster. And there they sat for ten or fifteen minutes in a state of hopeless inactivity.

Simultaneously the roll was being called at the rival caucus. The Governor sat upon the platform, looking, if he did not feel, confident. The monotonous call preceded, slowly, painfully, until the last name had been reached. Several delegates were keeping score on bits of paper, and they realized, almost at the same moment, that only 181 delegates had responded to their names, and that the Governor was eight votes short of the required number. But the chief actor was on the alert. Before the truth had time to dawn on the bewildered caucus, he was on his feet.

#### THE GOVERNOR'S STRATAGEM.

"I notice," he shouted, in fine disregard of the truth, "that a number of delegates have entered the hall since the roll-call began. I would ask that the secretary call the names of those who have failed to answer to the roll."

Hope sprang up in the breasts of the unknowing ones; confidence was restored. The secretary called the names, and a dozen apt lieutenants benevolently answered to the names of those who were not fortunate enough to be present. Ere the sound of the secretary's voice had died out, the Governor was on his feet again, shouting:

"We have 192 delegates and have won the fight."

Bedlam broke loose. Hats were thrown in the air, handkerchiefs waved, canes whirled, and men slapped one another on the back and joined in one mighty shout that penetrated the Mayor's caucus, and threw a pall, like a wet blanket, over the helpless and inactive majority that sat there, moping in sickly silence. But the Governor had not completed his coup d'état. Mysteriously two brass bands emerged from nowhere; six brawny men with lighted transparencies appeared; a man with a pot of paint, inscribed upon them, in wide lettering, the cabalistic "192." Over the figures was the word "Victory," and beneath them various allusions to the fact that "our old commander"

was still in the saddle. Box after box of red fire and hundreds of roman candles were magically discovered; a parade was hastily improvised; the procession started, and the Governor in an open barouche, amid the strains of martial music and a lavish display of pyrotechnics, stood bowing his thanks to the multitudes that lined the sidewalks.

All that remained was the formality of holding the convention. The doubtful delegates that had sat on the fence for many weary weeks gracefully dropped over into the Governor's back yard. Men who in reality wanted only a fair opportunity to desert his standard, assured him of their life long devotion. Delegation after delegation composed of men who despise a loser, deserted the Mayor. It was even proposed, in an outburst of ardor, that the Mayor should place the Governor in nomination. But the Governor shook his head deprecatingly; said, with a fine show of magnanimity, that his rival had made a splendid fight and should be given an opportunity of showing his strength in the convention. When the next day dawned and the Governor had received the votes of four-fifths of the delegates, he, with becoming humility, said he owed his victory entirely to the loyal fellows who had remained with him throughout the campaign. And when the Mayor, leaving his seat, advanced sheepishly up the middle aisle of the convention hall, and moved to make the nomination unanimous, the Governor, with beautiful dramatic effect, walked from the platform and publicly shook him by the hand.

And the two bands played on! And the six transparencies were relegated to their political limbo, where all used-up political paraphernalia is supposed to go.

#### QUAY AND THE NEW YORK DIRECTORY.

The story of how Matthew Stanley Quay met and worsted Tammany Hall on its own battlefield, in 1888, and elected a President of the United States, constitutes one of the dramatic pages of American political history. Men differ widely in their estimates of the character and career of Senator Quay; but all concede that he was without a peer as an organizer, and that few approach him for masterly political generalship. When he was unexpectedly elected to the Chairmanship of the Republican National Committee in 1888, he deliberately went off on a ten days' fishing trip. The unthinking were astonished at this apparent indifference to the responsibilities of

the exceptionally important position to which he had been called. But confirmed fishermen are usually philosophers, and all the time that Chairman Quay was pulling in the elusive fish he was thinking out his plan of campaign. He reached three definite conclusions. First, that the election of General Harrison hinged chiefly, if not entirely, upon a Republican victory in the Empire State. Second, that to win New York it was absolutely essential to keep down the Democratic majority in New York City. Third, that to keep down the big Tammany pluralities, it was necessary to head off the wholesale registration of unqualified voters.

Having carefully thought out all of this, Quay proceeded to New York and opened headquarters in a brown-stone house on Fifth Avenue. He saw many visitors, arranged for collecting campaign funds, and sent out tons of literature. Frequenters of the room sniffed the air and said it was the same old campaign conducted on the same old principles.

But simultaneously with Quay's arrival in New York, a dapper looking chap, with the manners of a sharp business man, opened a suite of rooms on Broadway, and announced that he was about to publish a new city directory. Scores of canvassers were engaged and dozens of typewriters were put to work. Evidently the task of gathering the names of the citizens of New York was to be done in a methodical and complete manner. New York, indifferent at best, simply noted that a new business concern had begun operations, and went on attending to its affairs. The canvassers were industrious men. They worked from morning until night, and from Monday until Saturday, for weeks and months. If one had been of a curious turn of mind, he would have noticed that the canvassers paid particular attention to the East Side and the Tenderloin district, and that an unusual effort was made to get the exact name and occupation of every man in every room of the tenements and rookeries of that section. "Say dat I'm associated with Pepperpot Morgan" was one of the characteristic retorts from a seven-point tough to a canvasser.

#### MAKING MAPS OF THE CITY.

After the names had been dumped in by the canvassers by the tens of thousands, affairs took a new turn at the city directory head-



quarters. A force of competent draughtsmen were employed, and they were placed at work making maps of the city. Before they finished there were hundreds of these maps, filled with red lines and dotted lines and shaded lines. Every house in every street in New York appeared on these maps. If the house was a tenement house, or a lodging house, or a saloon, or a speak-easy, the fact was noted on the map. Surely this must be the most remarkable city directory ever published in the metropolis. Besides designating the location and character of each house, data were prepared showing the number of rooms contained in each store or dwelling, the number of people beneath its roof, and the number of persons that could, by any possibility, be crowded within its four walls.

Strange to say, these books were never sent to a publisher. But if a Sherlock Holmes had watched the directory house carefully, he would have discovered that the books, from time to time, were discreetly caried to the rooms of the National Republican Committee and that Colonel Quay would sit up, far in the night, studying these queer maps. When he concluded his study, he had grasped the politics of New York as thoroughly as if he had lived in the metropolis all of his life. More than that, he had in his possession the character of every house, the name and reputation of every occupant of the house, the number of votes that each precinct should give, and the number it could give.

And the sachems of Tammany Hall, puffed up with the prestige of a wonderfully successful organization, sat in their wigwams and smoked their pipes and sneered at the quiet little man who had come over from the village of Philadelphia to show Manhattan how the national election should be conducted. The spies that had been sent to the rooms of the Republican National Committee reported that the enemy was conducting "a campaign of education" and that Quay, who was a sleepy looking fellow, spent most of his time, alone, in his private office, reading books. Whereat their was great merriment in the wigwam. A campaign of education? It was the dream of a theorist! A political chairman spending his time reading books? How absurd to practical men. But the directory establishment went merrily on, and Quay continued his readings. The elevated trains whizzed by the offices of the new city directory company and the New

Yorkers glanced idly in at the second story windows and wondered when the directory would be published. And the Tammanyites slept on in fancied security.

On the eve of the election the truth came out, and Tammany stood aghast. But Quay had the information and had proof in his possession that would lead to the arrest and imprisonment of every man that attempted to register falsely. To prove that he was in earnest, he deposited \$50,000 in a responsible national bank, to be used in paying rewards to those who gave information that would lead to the conviction of those falsely registering. New York never had a cleaner registration than it had that year. Harrison was elected President of the United States and Quay became the most abused man in American politics.

#### THE MAN WHO WAS LOST IN THE MOUNTAINS.

During a recent campaign the National Republican Committee made a successful attempt to distract the attention of the opposition by making a pretence of carrying a number of Southern States, including Tennessee, North Carolina and West Virginia. Trusted men were sent into these States, with instructions to build up organizations, to strengthen those already in existence, and to do all in their power to carry an occasional Congressional District in order to insure a working party majority in the National House of Representatives.

The man who went into North Carolina was one of the shrewdest political workers in America. He was patient and persistent, and familiar with every little detail of his profession. He worked quietly, too, and he had been in the State for six weeks before his presence was suspected by the enemy. Then the Democratic National Committee went after him with resolution and energy. They, too, sent a man into the State, and his orders were to undo all of the work of the first man, to mingle with the people, and to advertise the fact that a carpet-bagger was in their midst for the purpose of having a Democratic State give a majority for a Republican candidate.

The Republican emissary was justly startled at this outlook. The thought of losing all the results of his patient labor was discouraging. But that was not the worst; the rough mountaineers, when they learned the truth, might do him physical violence. So he telegraphed

the situation to New York, and asked for instructions. In due time came the reply, "Lose him in the mountains." Beneath this was a cautionary postscript, "Do not take these instructions literally." The rush and bustle of work in the New York headquarters blotted out all recollection of North Carolina. The Democratic Committee considered it so safely anchored in their column that it was given very little thought. The Republicans were so engrossed in trying to carry really debatable States that they forgot the Turpentine State. Election day came and passed, and nothing was heard from North Carolina. The man who had so glibly ordered his agent to "lose" his opponent "in the woods" felt troubled. What if he had been fool enough to take such a hint seriously! Murder was a horrible crime; none the less so when it was a political crime.

While he was in the midst of his unpleasant cogitations, who should come in but his North Carolina emissary, dressed in a new Scotch plaid suit, stroking his moustache and smelling of the barber shop, and smiling in a very broad way.

"Hello, Buck!" shouted the headquarters man; I'm awfully glad to see you. How are you anyhow?"

"Never felt better; I'm in the pink of condition," was the still smiling response.

"What did you do with that man in North Carolina?" in tones of the deepest solicitude.

"Oh, I got rid of him all right; he didn't trouble me after I got your telegram."

"You didn't—you didn't kill him!" in an awed and sepulchral voice.

"Naw!" was the reply in rising tones; "I'm not a bungler. I had him arrested for passing counterfeit money; he was put in prison and kept there until after the election."

And the smile returned to the countenance of the headquarters man.



## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### THE DANGER OF CENTRALIZATION AND THE LOSS OF INDIVIDUALITY.

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BY WOODROW WILSON,  
PRESIDENT OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

Our peculiar and fundamental moral problem is this: where and how shall we separate the individual from the mass, lift the individual soul out of the confusion and distraction of modern societies, unions, brotherhoods, leagues, alliances, corporations, and trusts into some clear place of vision, where it may think and see apart, looking beyond the things of the day to the things that abide. You will find that you cannot pool your conscience; you had better, then, not try to pool your morals. Keep your liberty in the one and you can afford to live with the other.

Look about you with candid eye and you shall find that the malady of the age is lack of individual courage, lack of individual integrity of thought and action. We need not speak of other countries or sweep a whole age into our generalization. Let us confine our view to our own day and our own country. What is the law of life in America now? Is it that every man should form his own moral judgments and speak them fearlessly, that every man should seek to govern his own life and square it with his own independent moral judgments? Of course there never has been a time or a society in which the individuals emerged from the mass in noticeable multitudes and the air was quick with active independence. It has always been the exceptional individual here and there who asserted his own rights of conscience and took command of his own conduct. Does America to-day show a large or a small proportion of such men? That is our ultimate test of vitality.

"A people is but the attempt of many  
 To rise to the completer life of one,  
 And those who live as models to the mass,  
 Are singly of more value than they all."

Let us start, then, with the open eyes of men who see the truth. We know the difference between right and wrong, between what is honorable and what is dishonorable, between what stands square with conscience and what lies athwart its standards. Let us go out and honor ourselves by enacting righteousness in the field of affairs; by refusing to put our conscience at the service of any man, of any corporation; by playing a part, at whatever temporary cost, which will not cost us our individual liberty and integrity.

I shall not have to lay before you any elaborate picture of the world we now live in as preface to my moral. Men do not choose their parts in life separately and individually in our day, as they did in the days of our fathers. The men are becoming rare now who have businesses of their own, undertaken upon their own individual capital and built up and conducted independently upon their own responsibility. Professional men are rare who rise to the top of their profession without attaching themselves more or less intimately to institutions or corporations of some sort—doctors to hospitals, lawyers to great corporate undertakings, men of science to the great enterprises in which science is applied.

Every affair of life takes on more and more the aspect and practice of wide organization; many men are drawn together in a common discipline and body; each man finds himself a small part of some great whole, whose operation is decided by votes taken about long tables in directors' rooms, whose morals are composite morals, a compromise combination of what the material interests of the body dictate and what the enterprise of its managers suggests, the character of every man who participates being merged in the general compound. Each man concerned feels the range of his own choice to be very narrow, and is forced to be content with seeing questions of conscience either ignored or administered by commission. It is a composite world, and its standards are for the time being sadly confused by its attempt to compound its morals with its material ambitions, to set up composite notions of righteousness and dispense virtue through the intricacies of an elaborate organization.

The tendencies of our minds, the tendencies of our age, have affected alike our standards and our conduct. We have grown very "practical." We have seen the life about us and the life of which we form a part take on a certain organization in which men were, so to say, pooled and compounded, and enormous material energy, unexampled business efficiency have been the result. We have stood amazed, with a sort of childish delight, at the work of our own hands. Success upon the grand scale has meant power upon a scale unprecedented, the power of the individual and the power of the nation. The eyes of all the world have been turned upon America in uneasy wonder and admiration, with a touch of fear as well as of amazement. We have said, "Behold, it is a good thing! Look at its tremendous efficiency! It is the glory of America, of the practical American genius, the colossal success which has crowned all the rest that preceded it. What if the individual is submerged? That is the inevitable result of the system. It may be moralized, that is, controlled, as a whole, by law, but it would break down under the too great self-assertion of the individual." The moralist, not infatuated by the gross material results, can only reply: "Then it will inevitably break down."

Our present cynicism will not last, is not lasting. The tendency to be "practical" will not conquer the tendency to be moral. The great awakening we have just had to the moral aspects of so much of modern business is but the beginning of the change. The moralist will dictate both to the lawyer and to the man of business.

There is no more subtle dissolvent of morals than sentimentality, and there is no more hopeless method of seeking to moralize an age than beginning at the edges. Go straight to the point. Put every individual, great and small, upon a stern probation. Let him not escape your judgment because he is unfortunate and well meaning. Be just. Distinguish what is not really unrighteous. Go to Christ for the abiding standards of moral judgment. Be sure that you allow the individual his real liberty to live truly and serve loyally. Do not impose your private judgments upon him, but within the limits of Christian justice judge inflexibly. Let standards be standards, not sliding scales that follow your sympathies. Judge men according to their essential character, but demand that they have some essential character to be judged, and be not time-servers.



## CHAPTER XL.

### THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND OTHERS.

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That the negro is a mighty factor in the industrial, commercial, political and social history of America, and that he will become more and more so as the years go by, needs no argument with the student of history, or the political economists and statesmen, who forecast the future from the signs of the present and the records of the past. The one point on which all agree is that the negro is here to stay; and, however much strife there may be between him and his white fellow citizens, all will admit that the negro has proved himself to be a loyal American, proud of his country and patriotic; and that he has no intention of leaving the land of his former slavery and his present citizenship. The negro problem is a serious one, and it is also a national problem. It is not confined to the South, as many superficial thinkers are wont to suppose. The terrible race riots in Springfield, Ill., in August, 1908, show that it is a race problem and not a sectional question. It is introduced into this book because of its important national significance. To those who would study the question broadly from an economic, political and social standpoint we must advise that they seek the libraries, where they will find utterances by well-known students of the problem, published in numerous magazines and recent books. This significant suggestion is offered by Andrew Carnegie:

"After a period of fifty years we are to inquire whether the American negro has proved his capacity to develop and improve. This I propose to answer by citing facts.

"The first question the ethnologist will naturally ask is: 'Has he proved himself able to live in contact with civilization, and increase as a freeman, or does he slowly die out like the American Indian, Maori or Hawaiian?' The census answers that the total number of

negroes in America in 1880 was 6,580,793; in 1900 was 8,840,789. Increase in twenty years 2,259,996, equal to 34.3 per cent, almost double the rate of increase of the United Kingdom, and within 3 per cent of the increase of America, white and black combined. The negro race numbers to-day about 10,000,000. It does not increase as fast as the white in America because there is no black immigration; taking only native whites and blacks, their relative increase must be about equal. There is no trace of decline here, but a surprisingly rapid rate of increase, one of the surest proofs of a virile race calculated to survive in the struggle for existence. The first test, therefore, we may consider successfully met." Mr. Carnegie in his able article in "Government," Volume III, No. 3, from which the above paragraph is quoted, discusses the achievements and possibilities of the negro race in a logical and convincing manner, that leaves little doubt as to the black man's fixedness as a factor in American life and government, and the necessity of providing properly for his recognition and advancement with the least possible danger to the two races and the least possible friction between them.

Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, of South Carolina, sees grave threatenings of race war and slaughter, increasing with the coming years, in the whole country and particularly in the South if the negro is allowed to continue to exercise the right of the ballot. He believes it is better—in fact that it is only safe—to withhold the right of suffrage in America from all except the Caucasian race. This he argues would discriminate against no race in particular, but against Indian, Chinaman, Japanese and African alike—and would insure the perpetuity of the "white man's rule" in the United States, and avoid race war that he believes is now a dire menace to the nation.

John Temple Graves advocates the enfranchisement of the negro and the disfranchisement of the white man in certain States. This he thinks would tend to segregate the two races, prevent trouble and elevate them both, without denying political rights to either race.

The scope of this article does not permit dwelling upon these theories, however interesting and worthy of place and thought they may be. It is better that we devote the space at command to the consideration of the question as far as possible from the negro's standpoint by one of their own leaders.



GEORGE B. McCLELLAN .

This picture shows the Mayor of the Metropolis of North America  
at his desk in the City Hall.





JOHN MITCHELL, GREAT LABOR LEADER AND ADVOCATE

Distinguished for his ability to control and manage the largest Labor Organization in the world. His style of public speaking is vigorous and his power to hold an audience is marked.

## THE NEGRO'S CLAIM UPON AMERICA.

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

As set forth in an address delivered before the National Educational Association  
in 1908 at Cleveland, Ohio.

"One-fourth of the physical territory in the United States is comprised in a territory in which the negro is depended upon very largely as the chief laborer. A careful examination into the facts will convince one that in our Southern States the productive power of the individual, especially on the farm, is less by three or four times than the productive power of our Northern and Western States.

"Against his own will the negro has been settled upon a large part of our territory. For reasons which I need not try to explain in detail, the negro, in my opinion, is going to remain upon this territory. He is going to remain here; he is going to occupy the field very largely as a laborer, and for these reasons:

"First, that he does not care to go away;

"Second, because the white man does not want him to go; and

"Third, because he is here first, and this act within itself, aside from other conditions, will for a number of years prevent other laboring classes from going very largely into the Southern States.

"The broad question then which I wish to present to the American people is this: Shall we permit the negro to remain upon this territory, getting the least out of the soil, or shall we by education and proper industrial training fit him to get the most out of the soil? The negro race in America now numbers not far from ten millions. Within a few years, perhaps in this generation, the race will have increased to fifteen millions. I repeat that they are going to remain in this country for all time, and principally in the Southern States. These millions of my race can be made useless or useful. They can be made to help or to hinder. They can be made to become criminals or law-abiding citizens. They can be made potent factors of the intelligence of our country, or they can become a load of ignorance, dragging down our civilization. Which shall it be?

"I do not ask you to undertake the impossible or impracticable. It has been clearly demonstrated that education makes the negro less criminal, that it makes him less thriftless, that it makes him more industrious, that it makes him more helpful in the maintenance of his duty as a citizen in the community in which he lives. It has also been

demonstrated in proportion as the negro is educated he becomes more useful as a producer; that he secures a home; that he becomes a taxpayer. The negro already pays taxes in America after only a few years of freedom and opportunity upon more than \$350,000,000 worth of property. He started in poverty a little more than forty years ago. He now owns and occupies over 500,000 homes and farms. He owns and controls, mainly in the Southern States, thirty-three banks. He now has 16,000 ministers, 24,000 churches and \$27,000,000 worth of church property.

"There is no need for a law to compel the negro to educate his children. Wherever a schoolhouse is opened the negro child fills the schoolroom. Our people stand ready at all times to make sacrifices in order to educate their children.

"Some people are fond of asserting that education as a force to uplift the negro is a failure. Education has never been tried upon the rank and file of our people on a scale large enough to warrant any such judgment. The great bulk of our people have scarcely been touched by education. According to official statistics, two years ago there were 1,400,000 children of my race of school age who were not even enrolled in the public schools, and a large portion of those enrolled, especially in the country districts, were in school only four or five months during the year. Do you know what it means to the good name and future security of this country to have in one part of it a million and a half children growing each year wholly without education? An untrained horse or dog is useless and non-effective; how much more so is this true of a human being?

"On the basis of school population each child in the Northern States had spent upon him last year for his education for teaching purposes about five dollars. On the basis of school population each negro child in the South had spent upon him for teaching purposes about fifty cents. At this rate it is impossible to educate the children of ten millions of people sufficiently to make them useful or effective citizens. I do not complain or criticise the South, but I simply state facts. The South out of its poverty has done well and it deserves credit for what it has done. It has had to rehabilitate during the days since the war its industrial, educational, social and political conditions. Not only has the negro child suffered for education, but the white child has been a sufferer in almost an equal degree. No section of our



country is making as great a struggle in taxing itself so heavily for education as the South; but notwithstanding these facts, it still remains that a large proportion of the negro children are without educational opportunities.

"What is the remedy? What is the one great need of the race to-day? In my opinion it is strong, unselfish, intelligent negro leaders and workers, and by that I mean teachers such as we are trying to send out from Hampton, from Fisk, Talladega and Tuskegee, and scores of other educational centers in the South. We need increasing numbers of men and women of common sense, who will go out among our people in the country districts and teach them, first of all, the dignity of labor; who will teach them proper farming methods; who will teach them how to work six days in the week instead of spending half the week in idleness; who will teach them how to save their money, instead of spending it for whiskey and superficial show; who will teach them how to tax themselves, if necessary, here in order to build a schoolhouse and extend the school term to seven or eight months in the year. We need educated leaders and workers who will teach our people how to live upon friendly and mutually helpful terms with the white man who is their neighbor; leaders and workers who will teach the masses that our race, like all races, must begin at the bottom and lay the proper citizenship in industrial directions. This class of leaders and workers the Tuskegee Institute is trying to furnish, but our work should be strengthened, it should be increased and multiplied many fold. Every man and woman that trained at Hampton and Tuskegee is in demand. If we could turn out five times as many they would find work in the Southern States among our own people, or they would be employed by the Southern white people, who want their services in various lines of industry.

"Some people are fond of passing judgment upon the progress of the race based upon their observation of that class of negroes who are found in the police courts. It is always unsafe and unfair to depend upon the police courts to get one's impression of the progress and standing of any race of people. In this respect I ask the American people to judge my race as other races are judged; that is, by their best representatives, and not by their worst representatives. It would be entirely unfair for me to pass judgment upon the industry, the intelligence and moral standing of the people in Cleveland by what

I might observe any morning in your police courts. I do not do this. I pass judgment upon your civilization, by what I see in your industrial, your business, your educational, and your church life. The negro should be judged after the same manner; that is, by his best representatives and not by his worst. It is unfortunately true that in most parts of our country the white man does not come in contact with the best civilization of the negro. The average white man rarely sees what the negro is doing in his business, industrial, educational, moral and domestic life.

"I have referred to two classes of colored people—one that is making progress, another that is retarding progress. It would be unfair for me not to refer to two classes of Southern white people. One class that has no faith in the progress of the negro you are all familiar with through newspaper reports, but I wish you to understand that there is a class of Southern white people which is growing in numbers and in influence, a class of educated and cultured brave white people in the South who are just as much interested in the permanent welfare and progress of the negro race as any similar class to be found in the North and elsewhere, and it is largely through the co-operation of the intelligent negroes with this class of Southern white people that the two are fast getting to the point where lynchings and the causes that provoke lynchings are disappearing. Twenty years ago in one year we had over two hundred cases of lynchings in the Southern States. During the past twelve months I am quite sure that there have been only fifty-six such cases. It is largely through the influence and help of this liberal class of Southern white people that the city of Atlanta has been reconstructed as far as racial relations are concerned. It is through the influence of this class of people that the barrooms and sale of whiskey, which has proven so hurtful to the economical and moral uplift of our people, are disappearing. This wave of temperance which is sweeping through the entire country means that within a few years the hurtful influence of the open barroom and the legal sale of whiskey will be a thing of the past. In the majority of cases the influence back of crimes which provoke lynchings and the lynchings themselves has been bad whiskey in the stomachs and in the brains of bad white people and bad black people.

"One man cannot hold another down in the ditch without remaining there with him. The interests of both races are bound up together by a tie which we cannot tear asunder if we would.

"Do not misunderstand me. We are making progress in the South, but the country owes it to the negro, to the South and to itself that still greater progress shall be made in the future than in the past.

"I may be in doubt concerning some elements in our Southern situation, but of one thing I feel absolutely sure, and that is that ignorance and racial prejudice never proved a settlement for any problem on earth. So long as we can go along patiently, quietly, persistently, giving all the people more skill, increased habits of industry, more intelligence and a higher idea of morality and religion, we can be absolutely sure that we are traveling a safe and sure road."

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#### THE SPRINGFIELD, ILL., RACE RIOT.

Commenting upon the race riot and lynchings at Springfield, Ill., Mr. Washington gave out a letter August 20, 1908, from which the following extract is taken:

"How long can our Christian civilization stand this? I am making no special plea for the negro, innocent or guilty, but I am calling attention to the danger that threatens our civilization.

"For the negro criminal, and especially for the negro loafer, gambler and drunkard, I have nothing but the severest condemnation; and no legal punishment is too severe for the brute that assaults a woman. But let the punishment be meted out by the law.

"It requires no courage for five hundred men to tie the hands of an individual to the stake or to hang or to shoot him. But young men and boys who have once witnessed or who have read in the papers of these exciting scenes often get the idea that there is something heroic in attacking some individual in the community who is least able to defend himself.

"No doubt the people who engage in lynchings, and excuse them, believe that they will have the effect of striking terror to the guilty. But who shall say whether the persons lynched are guilty? There is no way of distinguishing the innocent from the guilty except by due process of law. That is what courts are for. Those who have examined into the facts know only too well that in the wild justice of the mob it is frequently the innocent man who is executed.

"These lynchings terrify the innocent, but they often embolden the criminal; and those who lynch a man, however guilty he may be, are violating the law themselves, and that is criminal."



## CHAPTER XLI.

### ORGANIZED LABOR IN AMERICA, ITS RIGHTS AND ITS DEMANDS.

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DISCUSSED BY SAMUEL GOMPERS AND JOHN MITCHELL.

The American Federation of Labor is the medium by which organized labor in America hopes to accomplish its purposes. Samuel Gompers, one of the founders of the American Federation, the editor of its official magazine, its President for fifteen years, the author of a number of pamphlets and of many speeches on the labor question, is the leader of the labor campaign. It was Mr. Gompers who carried the claims of labor so valiantly before the Republican Convention at Chicago and again had his views prominently before the Democratic Convention at Denver.

It is no longer possible for the old parties to disregard the claims of labor unless they are willing to drive it into one of the several new organizations which have already formed to champion its cause. When we consider that the Federation to-day represents 116 national and international trade unions, with nearly 28,000 State, city and local organizations with a membership of over 2,000,000 voters, we begin to get an idea of what united labor moving solidly together may mean in a political campaign. When we add to this the fact that Mr. Gompers and his associates are working earnestly with fair prospects to attract to their cause the 1,260,000 trade unionists not affiliated with the Federation, and that they are also bringing the working man's claim to bear strongly upon approximately 2,000,000 working men who are not members of the union, the power of the movement becomes more apparent. The Farmers' Union if it should unite with the labor movement can probably throw another million votes in that direction. When we consider that the strength suggested would aggregate one-fifth of the total vote and population of the United

States which Mr. Gompers claims are knitting rapidly and more closely together every year, it is not difficult to realize the power which labor will wield even in this campaign.

In the last Presidential contest the Republicans polled 7,623,486 and the Democrats 5,077,971. Against these there were in the Socialist Party, the Prohibition Party, the People's Party and the Social Labor Party a vote of 709,251. The Socialist, the Populist, the Independence Party and the American Party all appeal strongly to the labor vote, and it is not a wild statement of Mr. Gompers that it is entirely possible for them to attract to their standard, if they can unite, from one a quarter to one and a half millions votes.

Another significant fact is that labor is strongest in the so-called doubtful States. Therefore, it is easy to be seen that the laboring man holds the balance of power and could easily throw the election either way between the leading parties. He could oppose the congressional majority and change the complexion of the Legislatures in several of the doubtful States.

The campaign of labor in the several small parties which represent it is vigorously on. Labor leaders are educating their men up to the point of breaking old party affiliations and making the cause of labor one of the issues of this campaign. More than fifteen hundred organizers are now at work night after night and day after day in every large city of the country organizing the force of labor and preaching to them the possibilities that they might accomplish if they stick together. Mr. Gompers himself is one of the most active of these campaigners. At every meeting they pass resolutions which demand that their bills now pending before Congress shall be passed, and these demands are passed on to the Congressional Representatives.

With Mr. Gompers the campaign of labor is a cold, hard, business proposition. The following statement by him sets forth some of his principal arguments and strongest claims enunciated boldly and openly and discussed by him publicly before the meeting of either the Republican or Democratic Conventions. It was these claims and these demands that labor placed before those conventions; and it is these claims and demands that the smaller parties attempt to give to labor in their platforms, which constitute at least a part of the reason urged by their leaders for the union of all labor interests in one grand struggle for the good of the working man.

## LEGISLATION THROUGH THE BALLOT.

"There are so many laboring men in this country, if all were to unite they could control practically every election in districts in which they live; if fifty or even twenty-five per cent were to merge the result would be momentous," sums up his statements. To bring about that merger education is necessary—education in the line of argument sufficiently strong to impress upon Labor the benefit of such action. "Labor has realized in a vague way, with the growth of the trades union idea, the possibilities of its strength," continues Mr. Gompers. "It has also fixed firmly in its mind what legislation is vital if it would progress. That legislation it knows can only be secured through the intelligent, concerted use of the ballot. The problem is simple, even if the working out of it involves tremendous work.

"Although it had talked and planned, Labor never entered upon any important campaign until 1906, and even that did not call for the full strength of its organization. It only expended a little more than \$8,000 in all its effort, but the results were as gratifying as they were surprising to the country. It showed by demonstration what could be done.

"The present campaign, international in scope and perfected in detail, was precipitated by a decision of the United States Supreme Court in February of this year. It was impressed upon us that if we would continue to progress, if we would continue at all working out our destiny, the effect of that decision must be nullified by an amendment to existing law.

## THE HATTERS' CASE.

"This was the decision in the now celebrated 'Hatters' case.' In that case it was decided that a labor union is a combination or trust within the scope of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and is therefore subject to its provisions. It is subject to the same penalties and has the same limitations or restrictions as a business combination organized for profit and with capital stock.

"The Loewe Company are hat manufacturers of Connecticut. The United Hatters of America is the union organization of the workmen engaged in that branch of industry. Although seventy of the eighty fur hat manufacturers of the country are unionized shops,



the Loewe Company refused to follow them and an industrial complication arose between the employer and employee. Action was brought by the manufacturers in the United States Circuit Court of Connecticut, for an alleged violation of the Anti-Trust law. In this court the contention of the union that the law did not apply to it was sustained. The case was appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals, which framed the single question: 'Can Loewe & Co. maintain an action against the defendants (Hatters) under Section 7 of the Sherman Anti-Trust law?' Section 7 provides that a person aggrieved by any illegal combination in restraint of interstate trade may recover threefold the damages sustained in addition to other costs.

#### EXEMPTION FOR TRADES UNIONS NEEDED.

"The contention of the Loewe Company was that by reason of an alleged boycott or other action by the Hatters and the American Federation of Labor its trade with other States had been crippled to the amount of \$80,000. The Supreme Court sent back the case to be tried on its merits.

"We need not discuss here the opinion entertained as to the justice of the decision," continued Mr. Gompers, "although I contend it is manifestly proper for anyone to discuss and even to criticise such acts. The point I wish to make is that if trades unions and associations of producers generally are specifically exempted from the provisions of the law, no more actions of this nature can be maintained. We cannot obtain this exemption without an amendment to the law and that only Congress can do. Therefore we have besought Congress to do this for us, because we believe that when the law was passed organizations like ours were not intended to be affected. It is the legitimate right of any association to do this, even as the publishers of the country may appeal to Congress to remove the duty on wood-pulp.

"The immediate result of this decision was a Conference of Protest at Washington, March 18th, which was participated in by representatives of 118 national and international unions, representatives of the American Society of Equity, the great farmers' association, and of the railway brotherhoods. It lasted two days and the outcome was the draft of an amendment, which should remove us from the grasp of the Anti-Trust law. This reads as follows:

“‘That nothing in said act (Sherman Anti-Trust law), or in this act, is intended, nor shall any provision thereof hereafter be enforced so as to apply to organizations or associations not for profit and without capital stock, nor to the members of such organizations or associations.

“‘That nothing in said act (Sherman Anti-Trust law), or in this act, is intended, nor shall any provision thereof hereafter be enforced so as to apply to any arrangements, agreements, or combinations among persons engaged in agriculture or horticulture made with a view of enhancing the price of their own agricultural or horticultural products.’

“It met with unanimous approval, and so did the other legislative measures we are advocating. A protest was at once drawn up and this was submitted to both Speaker Cannon and Vice-President Fairbanks as President of the Senate. The words of the delegation were courteous, but they stated that Labor was in no mood to be trifled with. It meant business and it would hold responsible the men who have the power to obtain for us what we are asking. We do not know to-day what Congress will do—we have hopes that it will see a light and do something. There are favoring signs, but in any event we lost no time once our determination had been spread abroad. At once an address was transmitted to every labor organization of the country. It was a call to action and read as follows:

#### LABOR’S CALL TO ACTION.

“‘Every legitimate pressure must now be brought to bear upon Congress in the effort to secure the passage of our amendment to the Sherman law.

“‘Hold mass meetings in every city and town in the United States on the evening of the third Sunday or Monday in April, 19th or 20th, and at that meeting voice fully and unmistakably Labor’s protest against the Supreme Court decision which strips Labor of the rights and liberties which we had supposed were guaranteed by the Constitution. Resolutions should be adopted urging upon the present Congress the passage of the amendment to the Sherman law and warning Congress that it will be held responsible for failure to enact such legislation.

"Labor should spare no activity to impress upon Congress its insistent demand for the passage of this amendment.

"In addition to the hold of the mass meeting of April 19th or 20th, and on such other dates as may be fixed in future and the forwarding of resolutions expressing Labor's protest and determination, every member of organized labor should write a personal letter to the Congressman of his district and to the two United States Senators of his State insisting that they use their efforts and cast their vote for the passage of our amendment to the Sherman law and other legislation mentioned in Labor's protest, and warning them that Labor and its friends will hold them responsible. That Labor proposes to be represented in Congress by men who will do justice to the workers and all the people—that it proposes to exercise every political and industrial activity to this end—that upon the record of this Congress will be based the workers' decision as to a candidate's future desirability as a member of Congress."

The foregoing quotations are from statements made by Mr. Gompers some weeks before the meeting of the Republican and Democratic National Conventions of 1908. Prior to these conventions Mr. Gompers and his associates carefully prepared certain demands of organized labor, to be presented to both parties for adoption, and he, with members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor (composed of both Republicans and Democrats—Mr. Gompers himself being a Republican), attended both national conventions. The Republicans did not accede to the Executive Council's demands, as they desired and had hoped. The Democrats, on the other hand, incorporated their recommendations, with but slight modification, into the national platform.

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### BOTH PARTIES HAVE SPOKEN—CHOOSE BETWEEN THEM.

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

An editorial, headed, "Both Parties Have Spoken—Choose Between Them," appeared in the *American Federationist* of August, 1908. In that editorial Mr. Gompers printed a full statement of the efforts made before both conventions, setting forth what had been asked of, and what had been granted by, the two respective parties.



The following extracts from that editorial make clear Mr. Gompers' attitude and his recommendations to organized labor:

"From the time of the close of Congress in 1906, when the trade unionists made their campaign, when a number of labor's opponents were defeated for re-election to Congress and the majorities of others materially cut down; when the majority of the dominant party in the House of Representatives was reduced nearly one-half, to the present day, there has been one continuous labor campaign. There has been neither halting nor deviation from the course which labor marked out for itself in the march toward progress and freedom.

"Of course we understand that the capitalist enemies to labor would have it tamely and complacently accept their absolute domination, rule, and the edicts of their congressional and judicial representatives and mouthpieces, and to endure all the wrongs and injustice which may be imposed upon the toilers.

"The determination of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to place before the conventions of the two great political parties some of the most important demands which labor makes upon them and upon society has been thought-compelling and caused universal discussion of labor's position, particularly in regard to the abuse of the injunction process and how it may be remedied.

#### LABOR'S DEMANDS TO THE FRONT.

"For several months there has not been any one question which has so thoroughly engrossed the attention of all the people of our country as that embodied in labor's demands and which has become popularly known as the injunction abuse.

"The agitation and discussion of labor's rights, labor's demands, which in its last analysis means the rights and freedom of all our people, will, beyond doubt, be the most important issue in the Presidential and Congressional campaign. Indeed, the labor question is, and must inevitably become, the mooted question until it is settled and settled right. So widespread has been the discussion that the people of the entire civilized world feel an intense interest, as shown even by the cablegrams from Europe published in our daily press.

"Let us unite, federate, and co-operate to the end that the humanizing aspirations and influences of the organized labor movement of our country may free the workers, and in freeing the workers

remove from all our people the last vestige of political class oppression and tyranny.

"Let the toilers, their friends and sympathizers, rise above political partisanship and in the best sense be American citizens, revering the history, memory, and tradition of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, and make of our republic the great commonwealth of real sovereigns and freemen.

"Attention is called to the following resolutions, unanimously adopted at the convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"*Resolved*, That, as our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong, we must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of political servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working people may act as a unit at the polls at every election.

"*Resolved*, That the American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trades unionists and workingmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunctions of the courts, nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth.'

#### LABOR'S RESPONSIBILITY.

"The issues confronting the new national life are labor issues primarily and fundamentally. Organized labor cannot, if it would, shirk its responsibility here. The toilers should not be on the defensive with respect to vital issues affecting them. They should and must devise an offensive movement looking to a firmer and more stable establishment of their inalienable rights. Nothing is voluntarily contributed to the interests of labor on the part of the wealth possessors or of partisan politicians.

"It is a paradox second to none in the line of human evolution and progress that labor, the sovereign, should plead for safeguards at the hands of its own creatures.

"Congress and other law-making bodies must be made to feel that labor is entitled to its just share in enactments particularly affecting its own rights and interests. Labor has little to expect at the

hands of those in responsible charge of the last session of Congress. We have much to look for in policies outlined and sought to be carried forward that have their initiative in the organized labor movement. In improving the condition of the workers, in securing for them their rights, liberty, and sovereignty, there is not involved the tearing down or the destruction of any one or of anything. The labor movement and its results encompass the well-being of every man, woman, and child the country over. Organized labor is not destructive, but constructive.

"It devolves upon organized labor by organization, agitation, and education to shape the next Executive and the next Congress to ends that will justify the maximum efforts which may be put forth in behalf of the great cause of the rights of the workers, which, in its essence, is the cause of human liberty.

*"We call upon the workers of our common country to stand faithfully by our friends, oppose and defeat our enemies, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices, whether executive, legislative, or judicial.*

#### ATTITUDE OF THE TWO PARTIES.

"Recently the two great political parties of the country have held their conventions, set forth their respective platforms, nominated their candidates for President, and appealed to the voters for support. The president and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor attended both the Republican and Democratic conventions for the purpose of presenting labor's demands and asking their incorporation in the platforms in a manner which should clearly affirm the position of the workers, especially in relation to the abuse of the injunction and the right to organize and carry on the legitimate business of organization without being classed as trusts under the Supreme Court interpretation of the Sherman anti-trust law.

"We now know at first hand the exact attitude of the two great parties and what treatment to expect at their hands.

"To state the case briefly, the national convention of the Republican Party, at Chicago, refused to incorporate the demands of labor in its platform, and instead inserted a plank on injunctions which



endorses the existing abuse of the injunction as applied to labor disputes.

"The Democratic convention, at Denver, on the other hand, made labor's demands a part of its platform.

"Labor asked the Republican convention for bread, and it gave a stone.

"The Van Cleaves and the Republican press in phrase and cartoon sneeringly told labor to 'Go to Denver.' Well, we did; and we shall tell what happened there. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor went to Denver at the time of the Democratic convention and submitted its requests and demands to the committee on platform, which, except for the preamble and change of party name, is identical with that submitted to the Republican convention. The Platform Committee incorporated the plank, which was adopted by the Democratic convention substantially identical with labor's principal demands.

"We have no hesitation in urging the workers and our friends throughout the country to support the party in this campaign, which has shown its sympathy with our wrongs and its desire to remedy them and to see that the rights of the people are restored.

"We say this not necessarily because it is the Democratic Party which has done this. We would urge the workers to support any party which had incorporated our demands into its platform and promised to work for their fulfilment.

#### NO PROMISE TO DELIVER LABOR VOTE.

"A deliberate attempt is being made by the opposition press to make it appear that 'Gompers has promised to deliver the labor vote to the Democratic Party.'

"Such a statement is so absurd as to hardly need refutation. We recognize the absolute right of every citizen to cast his vote for any candidate and with any party that he pleases. Far be it from us to attempt to coerce the votes of the workers, nor are we so asinine as to promise to 'deliver the labor vote.'

"But we do, in all seriousness, urge the workers and all good citizens to consider most carefully and thoughtfully the attitude of the two great political parties toward the fundamental rights and prin-

ciples embodied in labor's demands. Study their respective platforms, and then vote as conscience dictates.

"We now urge upon the workers to take up the campaign with the utmost enthusiasm and energy. Scan every candidate's record; study his party platform. Be not deceived by vague, unofficial, plausible assurances of friendship. Let partisan affiliations be cast aside in the great struggle to preserve our rights and our freedom.

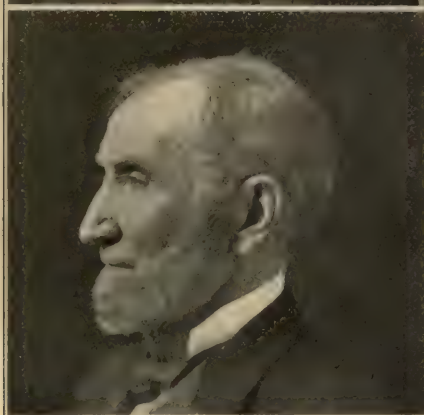
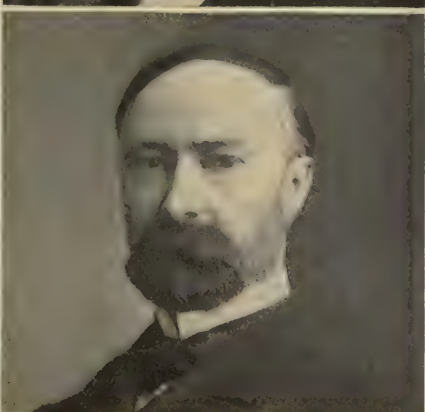
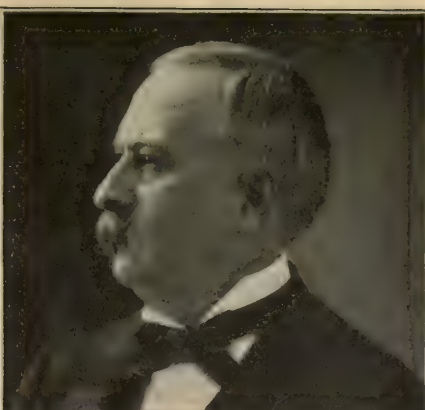
"Already the campaign of lying and misrepresentation is in full swing. Labor's attitude and that of its representatives is falsely stated. Wrong conclusions are purposely drawn in order to mislead labor and its friends from the concerted action which will tend to protect and preserve our industrial and civic rights.

"Not only in our own interest, but in the interest of all the people of our country, for the preservation of real liberty, for the elimination of bitterness and class hatred, for the perpetuation of all that is best and truest, we can never rest until the last vestige of injustice has been removed from our public life. The real purposes and high aspirations of our movement and the legislation it seeks at the hands of the law-making power of our country shall be better understood by all our people, and the great uplifting work which we have already achieved shall find better appreciation among those who now so unjustly attack and antagonize us.

"The labor movement in its historic and logical development will yet secure for the toilers, and all our people, right and justice and universal happiness and freedom."

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*"Resolved, That all organized labor be, and is hereby called upon and urged, to make special preparations for holding great demonstrations the coming Labor Day, the first Monday in September, 1908; that all friends and sympathizers with the principles and the aspirations of labor be invited to participate with the wage-earners in the demonstrations and festivities incident to a most thorough and comprehensive observance and celebration of Labor Day, 1908."*—*Resolution adopted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Denver, July 7, 1908.*

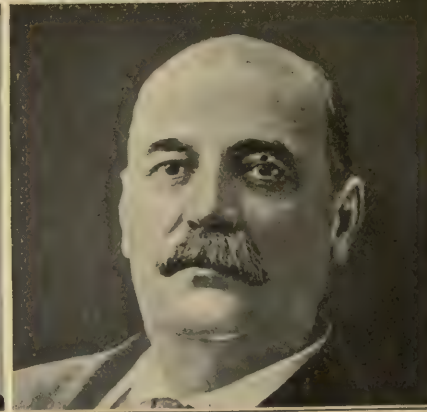
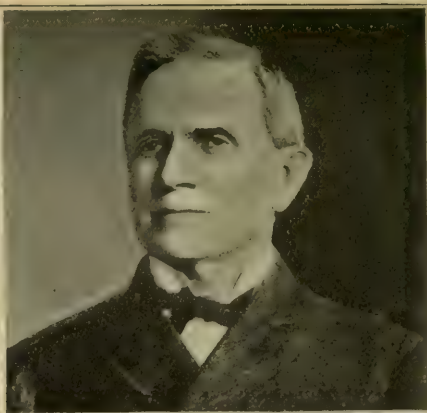
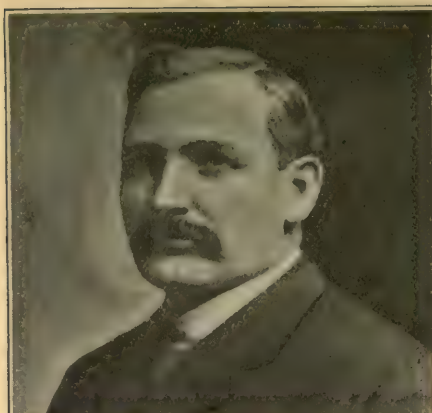


FAVORITE SONS AND LEADERS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Senator Henry C. Lodge, Massachusetts.  
 Senator Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania.  
 Representative Joseph G. Cannon, Illinois.

Senator Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio.  
 Vice-Pres. Charles W. Fairbanks, Indiana.  
 Senator Robert M. La Follette, Wisconsin.





GOVERNORS OF CALIFORNIA, MISSOURI, IDAHO, ALABAMA, OREGON,  
NEW JERSEY.

James N. Gillett, California.  
Joseph W. Folk, Missouri.  
Frank R. Gooding, Idaho.

Braxton B. Comer, Alabama.  
George E. Chamberlain, Oregon.  
John F. Fort, New Jersey.

## COAL MINING AND THE COAL MINER.

BY JOHN MITCHELL, EX-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

John Mitchell was president of the United Mine Workers of America from 1898 to 1908, when he was succeeded by T. L. Lewis, as national president. Mr. Mitchell is now head of the Trade Agreement Department of the National Civic Federation, with headquarters in New York. The object of this organization is to harmonize capital and labor in just and equitable relations, to conserve the interests of both, and for the general welfare of the people and the nation. While Mr. Mitchell has always been classed as a Democrat (as Mr. Gompers has heretofore been a Republican), and though he was prominently considered as the Vice-Presidential candidate of the party in 1908, it is nevertheless Mr. Mitchell's desire to keep personally out of active politics, and to leave labor free to vote without undue influence from its leaders.

## NON-COMMITTAL ON POLITICAL SITUATION.

On the political situation Mr. Mitchell says:

"I will not say whether or not I am in sympathy with the stand taken by Mr. Gompers. I will not say what side I am on, or make any predictions. I do not think, however, that Mr. Gompers has been fairly treated by the press. He has not promised, as claimed, to 'deliver' the labor vote to any party. He worked for labor's interests in the platforms of both parties, and he appealed to labor voters to compare the two and choose between them. I believe the Democratic plank states the remedy which will give the necessary relief.

"I am still and will remain a member of the National Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, but I did not attend the conference of the heads of national labor organizations called to agree on a political program.

"I am on friendly terms with President Roosevelt and think highly of him, but that would not sway me politically. I have never met Mr. Taft and do not know what kind of a man he is except from what I have read about him. I have met Mr. Bryan twice, but also know little about him.

"I want to say positively that I am not talking politics; will not give any opinion as to what will likely occur or who is going to be elected. I want to avoid being put in a position where it might be said I am going to take part in the campaign, which I am not."

ADDRESS AT THE CONGRESS OF GOVERNORS.

John Mitchell was one of those leaders who, with Andrew Carnegie, James J. Hill and William Jennings Bryan, was invited by President Roosevelt to the Conference of Governors, which met at his call in May, 1908, in Washington, D. C., to consider the conservation of our national resources. Mr. Mitchell delivered an address before that conference, from which we make the following extract by his permission:

"In discussing the conservation of our natural resources I shall confine my remarks to that phase of the question with which I am most familiar.

"It has been well said that 'coal is the earth's great storage battery of solar energy. In the nation's welfare it represents the basis of the heat, power, and light upon which the nation's comfort and the nation's industries depend. Man may replant the forests and the rivers will resume their courses to the seas, but the vegetation necessary to produce coal cannot be restored once it has been exhausted.'

COAL MAY BE EXHAUSTED IN TWO HUNDRED YEARS.

"Mining experts predict that under present methods of production the coal deposits of the United States will be entirely exhausted within two hundred years.

"The low cost at which coal is produced and the low price at which it is sold to large consumers is the most pronounced incentive to waste and extravagance.

"Consumers of coal in other countries pay from one and one-half to two and one-half times as much for fuel as is paid by American manufacturing and railroad companies. In other words, large corporations in our country purchase bituminous coal at the mines for less than one dollar per ton, while like concerns in other countries pay from two to three dollars per ton.

"The conclusion is inevitable that this very cheapness is an extravagance and not an economy. By reason of improper firing



and imperfect furnaces, three tons of coal are consumed in creating the power which, under proper conditions, would be generated by the use of one ton.

"The great waste in the production of coal does not at all approximate, however, the waste and extravagance in its consumption. It is interesting to note that under the present process of burning only from 5 to 10 per cent of the heat units in bituminous coal are utilized, the remaining 90 or 95 per cent being wasted. If it were possible to utilize all the heat units, our coal supply, which experts predict will be exhausted by the close of the next century, would last for more than two thousand years.

#### DUTY OF THE NATION TO THE MINE WORKER.

"The present generation has no moral right to destroy those resources which were not created by man or given solely to us.

"Our extravagant wastefulness in the use of our fuel supply, both in production and consumption, is equalled only by our criminal disregard of the personal safety and the lives of the men who toil under ground. For every 190,000 tons of coal produced a miner is killed and several are seriously injured. For each 1,000 men employed, 3.40 are killed annually. Last year nearly 2,500 men were killed and more than 6,000 were seriously injured in the mining industry of our country. No other country in the world shows so large a percentage of fatalities. Indeed, in those foreign countries in which mining is most hazardous, the proportion of men killed to the number employed is from 50 to 75 per cent less than in our own country.

"It is a sad commentary upon our vaunted civilization that more men are killed or crippled in mining in the United States than in any other nation on earth. In our mad rush for spoils and profits we not only waste and destroy those natural resources with which God has so bountifully provided us, but we press forward in the race, sacrificing also unnecessarily the lives and the comfort of our fellow-beings.

"It seems to me that the time has come when we should stop a moment to think—not alone of those inanimate things that make for comfort and prosperity, but also of the men and the women and the children whose toil and deprivation have made and will continue to make our country and our people the most progressive and the most intelligent of all the nations and all the peoples of the earth."

## CHAPTER XLII.

### BIOGRAPHIES OF THE STATE GOVERNORS AND CONDENSED INFORMATION ABOUT THE STATES.

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In this department will be found a short life sketch of the Governor of each of the forty-seven States and Territories in the United States of America, together with certain useful information concerning the admission, area, population, political party in power, salary of the Governor, length of term, date of expiration of present term, and other information of a concise historical and statistical character. For convenience of reference the biographies are arranged in alphabetical order of the States.

#### ALABAMA.

GOVERNOR BRAXTON B. COMER (Democrat). Term of service, 1907 to 1911. Salary, \$5,000. Governor Comer is a native of the State of Alabama. He was born in Barbour County, November 7, 1848. He was educated at the Universities of Alabama and of Georgia. It was while in school in the latter State that he met his future wife, then Miss Eva Harris, whom he married at the age of twenty-four at Cuthbert, Georgia. From early in life Mr. Comer became active both in business and in public affairs, and grew steadily in favor as a public-spirited citizen and as a business man. In 1890 he established his home in Birmingham, where he became President of the City National Bank and also of the Central Cotton Mills. On his inauguration as Governor of Alabama he took up his residence in the city of Montgomery, his present official address. In his executive capacity the Governor of Alabama is a Commander-in-Chief of the militia, has a limited veto in legislation and exercises the power usually entrusted to State Governors. Alabama is one of the old

States of the Union, having been admitted in 1819. The State has an area of 52,250 square miles and is divided into sixty-six counties. It is one of the most prominent of the Southern States, both in agricultural and mineral wealth. Iron and coal are especially abundant. Since 1820 its population has grown from 85,000 whites and 42,000 blacks to over 1,100,000 whites and nearly 1,000,00 colored people making a total of approximately 2,000,000 at the present time.

#### ARIZONA.

GOVERNOR JOSEPH H. KIBBEY (Republican), four years; term expires, March, 1909; salary, \$3,000. Mr. Kibbey has been Chief Executive of the Territory of Arizona since March 7, 1905. He is a lawyer and a native of the State of Indiana, having been born at Centreville, in that State, March 4, 1853. He was educated at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, where he was married to Miss Nora Burbank in the year 1877, two years after his admission to the bar in 1875. Mr. Kibbey removed to Arizona at the age of thirty-five and began the practice of law in that Territory in the year 1888. The next year he was made Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory, which position he held until 1893. He was a member of the Territorial Council during 1902 and 1904. During the latter year he became Attorney-General of Arizona, which position he filled until he was appointed Governor in 1905.

At the expiration of the present term, February 27, 1909, the President of the United States will appoint the next Governor of the Territory.

Arizona was formed out of the territory ceded by Mexico in 1848 and additional land acquired by the Gadsden Treaty in 1853. The Territory was organized in 1863. Efforts were made in recent years to induce Arizona and New Mexico to unite, forming one State with population sufficient to be admitted to the Union. The disposition of the people, however, is to remain separate and wait for admission until they have sufficient individual strength. The Territory has 113,020 square miles, divided into thirteen counties, and has a population approximating 150,000, of whom perhaps 28,000 to 30,000 are Indians.



## ARKANSAS.

GOVERNOR JOHN SEBASTIAN LITTLE (Democrat), 2 years; term expires January, 1909; salary, \$3,000. Governor Little is a native Arkansian—born at Jenny Lind, Sebastian County, on the fifteenth day of March, 1853. He was educated entirely within the limits of his State, where he attended the common schools and Cane Hill College. He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one, and when twenty-four became District-Attorney of the Twelfth Circuit of the State, in which capacity he served for seven years. In 1885 he became a member of the State Legislature and from 1886 to 1890 was a Circuit Judge. His popularity among his legal associates is shown by the fact that he was made chairman of the State Judicial Convention in 1893. Mr. Little became prominent in national politics in 1894, when he was elected to Congress to fill the unexpired term of Clifton R. Breckenridge. In this position his services were so eminently satisfactory to his constituency that he was re-elected to succeed himself for six consecutive times, serving in the Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth Congresses, covering a period of twelve years, from 1895 to 1907, when he resigned the position of Representative to take up the reigns as Governor of the State, to which he had been elected. Unfortunately, Governor Little became physically disabled for the duties of his office. Hence, X. O. Pindall, as Acting Governor, officiates in his stead.

George W. Donaghey was nominated by the Democratic party for the next Governor to succeed to the office in 1909.

Arkansas was organized as a Territory in 1819 and admitted to the Union as a State in 1836. The State has an area of 53,850 square miles, divided into seventy-five counties, and a population approximating 1,600,000, of whom a little more than one-quarter are colored.

## CALIFORNIA.

GOVERNOR JAMES NORRIS GILLET (Republican); salary, \$6,000; 4 years; term expires, January, 1911. Governor Gillett is a native of Wisconsin. He was born at Viroqua, in that State, September 20, 1860, and was educated at the High School of Sparta, in that State. At the age of twenty-one he was admitted to the bar. He became active in politics after moving to California, where he was elected to the Legislature as a State Senator in 1897, and six years later was

sent to Congress from the First California District. After a service of four years in the National Legislature he was made Governor of the State in 1907 for a term of four years. Mr. Gillett was married in San Francisco in 1898 to Miss Isabella Eizgraber.

California until 1848 belonged politically to Mexico. It was ceded to the United States in 1849 and was admitted as a State in 1850. California has an area of 158,360 square miles and a population estimated at 1,800,000, more than one-sixth of which is foreign born. There are estimated to be between 60,000 and 70,000 Chinese and Japanese. The Chinese population has materially decreased and the Japanese rapidly increased within the last decade.

#### COLORADO.

GOVERNOR HENRY AUGUSTUS BUCHEL (Republican); salary, \$5,000; 2 years; term expires, January, 1909. The Chief Executive of Colorado is sometimes called the preacher Governor. He went from a long and active ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Governor's chair. He is also an educator of renown, being Chancellor of the University of Denver since January 1, 1900. Governor Buchtel is a native son of Ohio, where he was born, near the City of Akron, September 30, 1847. He is the son of Dr. Jonathan B. Buchtel. His early education was received in private schools of South Bend, Indiana. He was graduated at De Pauw (then Asbury) University in 1875 with a degree of A.M. His D.D. was conferred upon him in 1884 and LL.D. in 1900 by his Alma Mater.

Mrs. Buchtel was Miss Mary N. Stevenson and had served as a missionary in Bulgaria previous to her marriage, which occurred on February 4, 1873. While in the ministry Dr. Buchtel served as pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Churches of Zionsville, Indiana; Greencastle, Indiana; Knightstown, Indiana; Grace Church, Richmond, Indiana; Trinity Church, Lafayette, Indiana; Evans Chapel and Trinity Church, Denver, Colorado; Central Avenue Church, Indianapolis, Indiana; First Church, Mt. Vernon, New York, and Calvary Church, East Orange, New Jersey.

Colorado was organized into a territory out of parts of Utah, New Mexico, Kansas and Nebraska in 1861, and in 1876 was admitted to the Union as a State. It has an area of 103,925 square miles, divided into fifty-nine counties. Its population is estimated at 650,000.

## CONNECTICUT.

GOVERNOR ROLLIN S. WOODRUFF (Republican), 2 years; term, January, 1907, to January, 1909; salary, \$4,000. More and more it is coming to be considered that business training is an important item in the qualification for the administration of affairs of state. Governor Woodruff has been for many years a merchant. He was born in Rochester, Connecticut, July 14, 1854, and, like Grover Cleveland and some other eminent statesmen, he remained a bachelor until late in life. He married Miss K. E. Perkins, of New Haven, in 1906. Governor Woodruff engaged in business at the age of sixteen. He was president of the Connecticut Computing Machine Company and a member of the firm of C. S. Mersick & Co. During all this time he took an active interest in public affairs, and it was his business ability, coupled with his general knowledge and public spirit, that secured for him the Governorship on the Republican ticket in January, 1907.

Connecticut is one of the original thirteen States. It has an area of 5,004 square miles, divided into eight counties. Its population in 1900 was 908,420, nearly all white. There are about 15,000 colored people in the State.

## DELAWARE.

GOVERNOR PRESTON LEA (Republican); term, 1905 to 1909; salary, \$2,000. Governor Lea is a native of Wilmington, Delaware, where he was born on November 12, 1841, and where he still resides and where he was married on November 28, 1870, to Adelaide Moore, who died October 3, 1888. He was married a second time in 1897 to Eliza Naudain Corbit, also of Wilmington. Governor Lea has had a long and successful business career. He was educated at Lawrenceville, New Jersey, and at the age of eighteen entered his father's mill, and since his father's death, more than thirty years ago, he has been the president of the firm of William Lea & Sons Company. He has also been the president of the Union National Bank for twenty years. He is also an ex-president of the Equitable Guarantee and Trust Company.

Governor Lea is also prominent in insurance circles, having served as vice-president of the Farmers' Mutual Insurance Company. He is also a prominent railroad man, having served as director of the Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington Railroad and as an official



of the Wilmington Railway Company. It was his large business ability as well as his public spirit which caused him to be singled out by the Republican party for Governor of the State.

The history of Delaware is unique. It was held in the earlier period successively by the Swedes, the Dutch and the English previous to its entering the Union in 1787 as one of the thirteen original States. Delaware is a very small commonwealth, having an area of only 2,050 square miles. There are only three counties in the State, and its population numbered in 1900 less than 200,000, of whom 13,000 were foreign born.

#### FLORIDA.

GOVERNOR NAPOLEON BONAPARTE BROWARD (Democrat), four years; term expires, 1909; salary, \$5,000. Governor Broward is a native of Florida. He was born on a farm in Duval County, of that State, April 19, 1857. Both his parents died when the boy was twelve years old. He is a self-made man, having attended the country schools in his early youth. At fourteen years of age we have him in the log camp of his uncle. He later worked as a farm hand, as a steamboat roustabout, as a seaman on sailing vessels and fishing boats and a cod fisherman on the Grand Banks. In 1887 he was running a wood yard and was part owner of a steamboat. In 1889 he entered politics as sheriff of Duval County, which position he held until 1900, when he became a member of the State Legislature. In 1904 he was elected Governor.

Hon. Albert W. Gilchrist, of Punta Gorda, was named by the Democratic party as the candidate for the term beginning January, 1909.

Florida was organized as a territory in 1822 and admitted to the Union in 1845. It has an area of 58,680 square miles, divided into forty-six counties, with a population of about 600,000.

#### GEORGIA.

GOVERNOR HOKE SMITH (Democrat), 2 years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$5,000. Governor Smith is a native of North Carolina. He was born at Newton, in that State, September 2, 1855. He was educated in a school conducted by his father. When a youth of seventeen, in 1872, he moved to Georgia and successively taught

school, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1873 before he was twenty-one years of age. He has practiced law principally in Atlanta. In 1882 he began his political career by going as a delegate to the Democratic State Convention. In 1883 he was married to Miss Birdie Cobb. In 1892 he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention. The next year he was made Secretary of the Interior of the United States under Grover Cleveland. Throughout his political career Mr. Smith has retained his connection with the law firm of Smith, Berner, Smith & Hastings. He is notably a public-spirited man. He was for several years president of the Atlanta Board of Education; and, as proprietor of the *Atlanta Journal* for twelve years, was active in the newspaper world.

Joseph M. Brown, of Marietta, Georgia, was nominated by the Democratic party in June, 1908, to succeed to the office of Governor on July 1, 1909.

Georgia was one of the original thirteen States. It has an area of 59,475 square miles and a population approximating 2,500,000.

#### IDAHO.

GOVERNOR FRANK R. GOODING (Republican), two years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$5,000. Governor Gooding is one of the few foreigners to be elected Governor of one of the United States of America. He is a native of England and removed to this country in 1867 with his parents, who settled at Paw Paw, Michigan, where he attended school. When young Gooding was fifteen years of age he went to California and at twenty-one settled in Idaho, where he has since been actively engaged in pursuits for the development of the resources of his adopted State. He is an extensive farmer. His ranch covers several thousand acres of land. He has always been interested in public affairs generally and has advocated boldly those political measures which he believed best conserved the interests of the citizens of his State. Before assuming the office of Governor he had served as a member of the State Senate and for four years was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.

Idaho is one of the young States of the Union, having been admitted in 1890. The State has an area of 84,800 square miles, divided into twenty-three counties. The population of the state in 1906 was estimated at 205,704, largely of the Mormon faith.

## ILLINOIS.

GOVERNOR CHARLES S. DENEEN (Republican), four years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$12,000. Governor Deneen enjoys the distinction of drawing the largest salary of any Governor in the Union. He was born in Edwardsville, Ill., May 4, 1863, and was educated at the public schools of Lebanon and McKendree College, where he graduated in 1882. After teaching school for some years he studied law and was admitted to the bar. It was not until after his marriage in 1891 to Miss Bina Day Maloney, of Mt. Carroll, Illinois, that he entered politics. In 1892 he was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives. Later he began his practice of law in Chicago, where he served as State's Attorney for Cook County, in which the City of Chicago is located, from 1896 to 1904. It was while serving in this capacity that he was elected Governor of the State, the duties of which office he assumed in 1905.

The State of Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1819. It has an area of 56,650 square miles, divided into one hundred and two counties. The growth in population in Illinois has been marvelous. In 1820 there were but 53,000 people in the State. In 1906 the population was estimated at 5,418,000—about one hundred times as many as there were in 1820. Nearly one-half of the inhabitants of the State, however, live in the city of Chicago, which, next to New York, is the largest city in our country. The population of Chicago in 1907 was estimated at 2,367,000 souls. Of this vast population nearly one-half were foreign born, 332,000 coming from Germany alone, 114,000 from Ireland and 100,000 from Sweden.

## INDIANA.

GOVERNOR J. FRANK HANLY (Republican), four years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$8,000. Governor Hanly is both a school teacher and a lawyer by professions as well as a statesman. He has served his country in various capacities. He was born at St. Joseph, Illinois, April 4, 1863, and is largely a self-made man, his education being confined to the common schools of Champaign County, Illinois. That young Hanly was not afraid of spoiling his career by taking unto himself a wife before he had entered professional life is evinced by the fact that he was married some months before he was nineteen to Miss Eva A. Simmer. For several years



he taught school in Warren County, Indiana, studying law at odd times.

Young Hanly was admitted to the bar in 1889 at the age of twenty-six and began his practice at Williamsport, Indiana. He entered politics immediately and was elected to the State Senate in 1890. In 1894 he was sent to Congress, serving one term. In 1899 he was Republican candidate for the United States Senate and in 1905 was elected Governor. Governor Hanly has always been an aggressive and forceful personage. He is an ardent temperance advocate. Some of his utterances on this subject are quoted by prohibitionists and other opponents of the liquor traffic. He was a prominent figure in the Republican National Convention in Chicago in 1908, where he placed Charles W. Fairbanks in nomination for the Presidency.

Indiana was admitted to the Union in 1816, two years before the admission of Illinois. The State has an area of 36,350 square miles, divided into ninety-two counties, with a population estimated in 1908 at 2,800,000 inhabitants.

#### IOWA.

GOVERNOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS (Republican), two years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$5,000. Governor Cummins is a native of Pennsylvania, where he was born February 15, 1850. He was educated in the public schools and carries the title of LL.D from Waynesburg College and also from Cornell College, Iowa. Governor Cummins is an accomplished surveyor. Before he entered the law he was chief engineer of the Cincinnati, Richmond and Fort Wayne Railroad. In 1874 he was married to Miss Ida L. Gallery, of Eaton Rapids, Michigan, and in the same year was admitted to the bar in Illinois and practiced law in Chicago until 1878, when he removed to Des Moines, Iowa.

Mr. Cummins entered politics in 1888 as a member of the Iowa Legislature; and quickly rose to prominence. He was a candidate for the United States Senate in 1894, and a member of the Republican National Committee from 1896 to 1900. In 1902 he was elected Governor of Iowa, which position he will continue to hold until January, 1909. The Governor is known as a liberal Republican. He is a champion of the reform movements inaugurated by President

Roosevelt and even goes farther than Mr. Roosevelt, perhaps, in demanding the government control or regulation of the railroads and other great public servants.

Iowa at one time formed a part of the territory of Missouri. At another it was a part of Michigan. Later it was transferred to Wisconsin. In 1838 it was made a distinct territory, and eight years later was admitted as a State into the Union. Its area is 56,025 square miles, divided into ninety-nine counties, with a population estimated in 1908 at 2,300,000, of which about one-seventh are foreign born.

#### KANSAS.

GOVERNOR EDWARD WALLIS HOCH (Republican) two years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$5,000. Governor Hoch is a son of the Blue Grass section of the Blue Grass State. He was born at Danville, Kentucky, March 17, 1849. He was educated in the public schools and in Central College of that town. Mr. Hoch moved to Kansas when quite a young man. It was in that State that he married Miss Sarah Louisa Dickerson on May 23, 1876, at Marion, Kansas. By trade Governor Hoch is a journalist. He was the editor and proprietor of the *Merion* (Kansas) *Record* since 1874. He entered politics in 1889, when he went as a member of the Kansas House of Representatives, of which he was made Speaker in 1893. Governor Hoch is a man of pronounced religious convictions and has been prominent in the Methodist Church for a number of years. He is now serving his second term as Governor, having been elected first in 1905 and succeeding himself in 1907.

Kansas was admitted to the Union as a State in 1861. It has an area of 82,080 square miles and a total population of about 1,700,000.

#### KENTUCKY.

GOVERNOR AUGUST EVERETT WILLSON (Republican), four years; term expires, December, 1911; salary, \$6,500. Governor Willson is an eminent lawyer and a man of extensive education. He was born at Maysville, Kentucky, October 13, 1846. He graduated with the degree of A.M. from Harvard University in 1869 and began the study of law in that school the next year. He later read law in the law offices of Lothrop, Bishop & Lincoln in Boston, and later with

John M. Harlan, of Louisville, Kentucky. Mr. Willson has long been prominently associated with the Republican party. He was the nominee of that party for Congress from the Fifth Congressional District of Kentucky in 1884-86-88-92. He also represented his district to the Republican National Conventions in 1884-1888-1892-1904. He was married July 23, 1877, to Miss Mary Elizabeth Ekin, daughter of Colonel James A. Ekin, Chief Clerk of the Treasury Department.

Kentucky is one of the old States of the Union, having been admitted in 1792. It has an area of 40,400 square miles, divided into one hundred and nineteen counties. The population in 1908 was estimated at 2,400,000, of which nearly 300,000 are negroes.

#### LOUISIANA.

GOVERNOR JARED Y. SANDERS (Democrat) of Baton Rouge, was elected April 21, 1908, and inaugurated May 18, 1908, as Governor Blanchard's successor in office for a term of four years. His term will expire in May, 1912. He was born January 29, 1869, near Morgan City, La. His father was a planter, but died when the son was quite small. In 1882 a flood swept away the plantation on which the widowed mother resided with her eight children, of which Jared, then twelve years of age, was the oldest. The boy bravely went to work in a country store to help support the family. After clerking several years he became a printer on the *St. Mary Banner*, a country weekly. In 1890 he was made editor of this paper, and incidentally studied law at odd times. In 1893 he entered Tulane University, where he graduated the following year, and has since practiced with marked success. Mr. Sanders' political career began in 1892, when he was elected to the State Legislature, in which he served twelve years, being Speaker of the House for four years—1900 to 1904—when he was elected Lieutenant-Governor. As a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1898 he is credited with influencing measures that did much to eliminate the negro from Louisiana politics.

Louisiana belonged to France until it was purchased by Thomas Jefferson in 1803. Nine years later in 1812 it was admitted to the Union as a State. The area of Louisiana is 48,720 square miles, divided into fifty-nine parishes, corresponding with the counties in the other States. The population of the State was estimated in 1908 to be about 1,500,000, of whom more than 700,000 are negroes.



## MAINE.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM T. COBB (Republican), two years; term expires, December, 1908; salary, \$3,000. Governor Cobb was born in Rockland, Me., July 23, 1857. He received his education at Bowdoin College, of which he is still a trustee. He also graduated in law at Harvard. Business appealed to him, however, and he devoted much of his time to the manufacture and sale of lime. He ran on the Republican ticket for Governor of his State in 1905 and was elected, and again in 1907. The office of the Governor of Maine is unique in that the Governor is assisted by an Advisory Council consisting of seven members, chosen every two years by joint ballot of Senators and Representatives. This council's advice and consent are required for all important appointments, and it must also sanction warrants for the payment of money from the treasury.

Maine was part of Massachusetts until 1819. It was admitted to the Union as a State in 1820. Its area is 33,040 square miles, divided into sixteen counties. The population in 1908 is estimated to be about 725,000.

## MARYLAND.

GOVERNOR AUSTIN L. CROTHERS (Democrat), four years; term expires, January, 1912; salary, \$4,500. Like many prominent men, Governor Crothers grew up on the farm. He was born in Cecil County, Md., in the year 1860. He attended the public schools of his neighborhood and later went to the West Nottingham Academy. For a while after leaving the academy he taught school. Later he took up the study of law, in which he graduated from the University of Maryland in 1890, when thirty years of age. He was at once admitted to the Cecil Bar and entered upon an active practice. Next year, 1901, he became State's Attorney, in which capacity he served for four years. It was in 1897, however, that Mr. Crothers became actively engaged in politics. He was at that time elected to the State Senate to succeed his brother, and at once became a leader of the Democratic party in the State Legislature. He served as chairman of the Committee of Finance and in this position made an impression upon the State officials which paved the way to his later exaltation. The tendency which he showed to guard the outlay of the people's money against expenditure on wild cat legislative schemes marked his

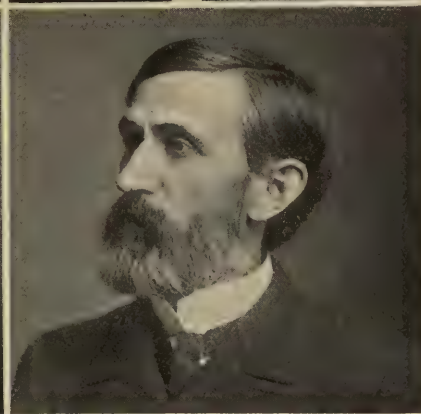
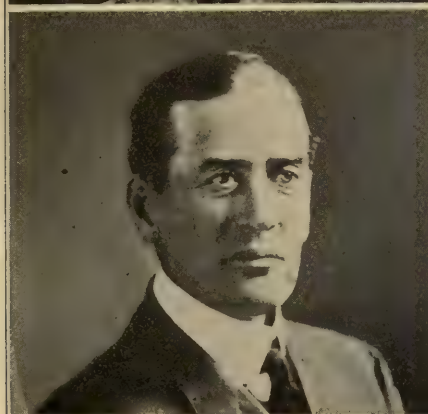
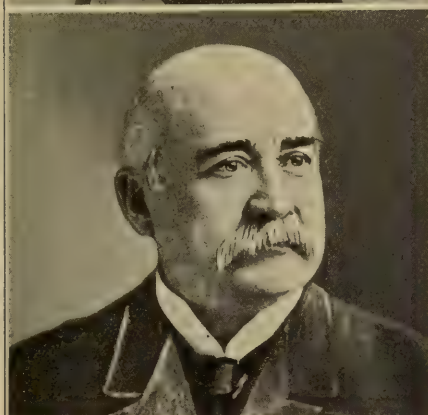
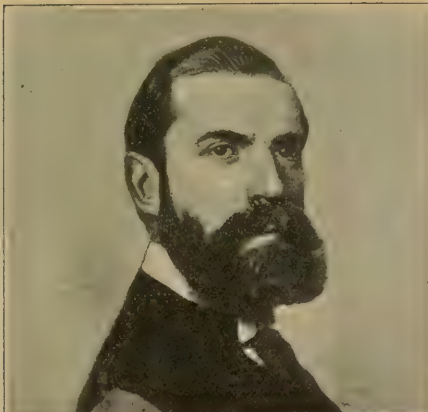
administration of the Committee of Finance with distinction. It, however, made him enemies also, as was shown by the fact that he was defeated for the same position on the two succeeding elections. On March 28, 1906, Governor Warfield appointed him Associate Judge to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Edwin H. Brown, which position Judge Crothers occupied to the time he assumed the duties of Governor in 1908.

Maryland entered the Union as one of the original thirteen States. It has an area of 12,210 square miles, divided into twenty-four counties, with a population estimated in 1906 at 1,275,000. Baltimore is its largest city, with a population of nearly 600,000.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

GOVERNOR CURTIS GUILD, JR. (Republican), one year, term expires January, 1909; salary, \$8,000. Governor Guild is a native of Boston, where he was born February 2, 1860. He is the son of the well-known author and journalist, Curtis Guild, Sr., President of the Boston Society, one of the early proprietors of the *Boston Traveler*, and also the founder and editor of the *Boston Commercial Bulletin*. Governor Guild graduated from Harvard in 1881 with the highest honors, made a tour of Europe and entered the office of his father's paper, the *Commercial Bulletin*, in which position he served successively in various capacities from bill collector to editor, becoming, in 1902, the sole owner of the paper. Governor Guild has long been active as a volunteer public speaker on the Republican side, and a power not only in New England, but in the Central, West and Southern States. He was a delegate at large from Massachusetts to the National Republican Convention in 1896. He was made a brigadier-general of the State militia at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, and after the war closed served on the staff of General Fitzhugh Lee. In 1900 he was President Roosevelt's companion on the stump in the West. From 1902 to 1905 he served as Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts. In 1906 he was elected Governor, in which capacity he has since served. Governor Guild has served in various capacities in the public interest, both before and since he became Governor.

Massachusetts was one of the most prominent of the original thirteen States, and when she was admitted to the Union had a large territory, and her possessions then included largely what is now the

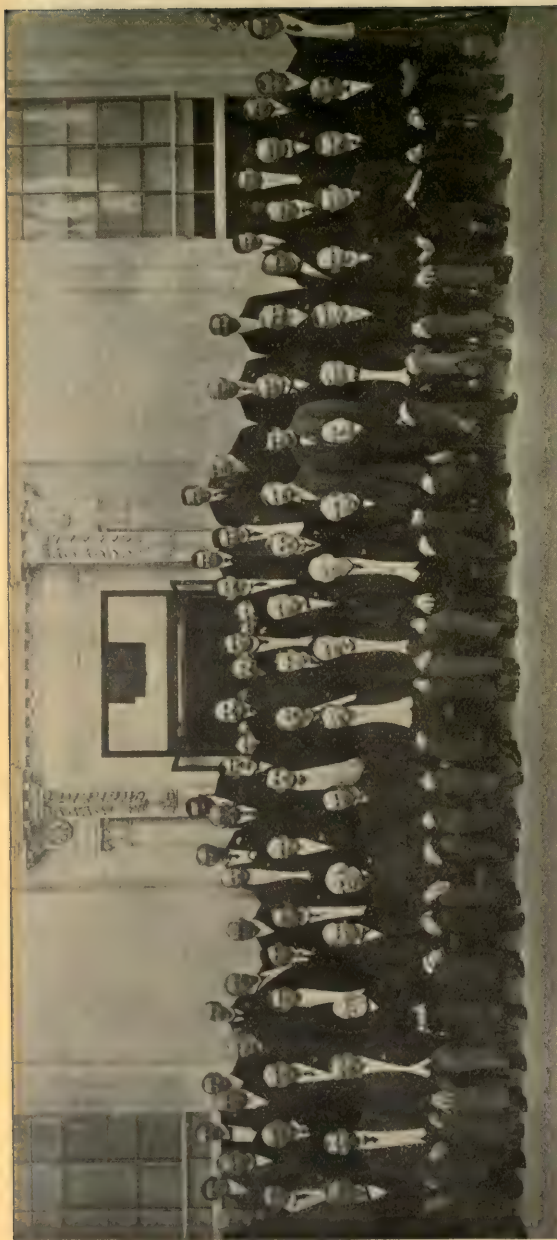


GOVERNORS OF NEW YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, MINNESOTA, DELAWARE,  
OKLAHOMA, WEST VIRGINIA.

Charles E. Hughes, New York.  
Edwin S. Stuart, Pennsylvania.  
John A. Johnson, Minnesota.

Preston Lea, Delaware.  
Charles N. Haskell, Oklahoma.  
William M. O. Dawson, West Virginia.





GATHERING OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE STATES AT WASHINGTON, MAY 13, 14 and 15, 1908.

This remarkable photograph of the meeting called by President Roosevelt to consider the question of preserving the natural resources of the various States was taken just outside of the White House.

First Row, seated left to right—Gov. Harris of Ohio, Gov. Hughes of New York, Gov. Davidson of Wisconsin, Andrew Carnegie, William Jennings Bryan, James J. Hill, John Mitchell, President Roosevelt, Vice-President Fairbanks, Mr. Justice Harlan, Mr. Justice Brewer, Mr. Justice White, Mr. Justice McKenna, Mr. Justice Holmes, Mr. Justice Day, Mr. Justice Moody, Secretary Cortelyou, Secretary Bonaparte.

Second Row, standing, left to right—Gov. Post of Porto Rico, Gov. Proctor of Vermont, Gov. Fort of New Jersey, Gov. Blanchard of Louisiana, Gov. Burke of North Dakota, Gov. Folk of Missouri, Gov. Norris of Montana, Gov. Hoch of Kansas, Gov. Woodruff of Connecticut, Gov. Higgins of Rhode Island, Gov. Glenn of North Carolina, Gov. Deneen of Illinois, Gov. Warner of Michigan, Gov. Hanly of Indiana, Gov. Comer of Alabama, Gov. Brooks of Wyoming, Gov. Buchtel of Colorado, Gov. Gooding of Idaho, Gov. Noel of Mississippi, Gov. Hoggatt of Alaska.

Third Row, standing, left to right—Gen. Mackenzie, Chief of Engineers of the Army; Congressman Burton of Ohio; Senator Bankhead; Dr. Magee, Agricultural Department; Gov. Kibbey of Arizona; Gov. Ansel of South Carolina; Gov. Cutler of Utah; Gov. Lea of Delaware; Gov. Dawson of West Virginia; Gov. Floyd of New Hampshire; Gov. Willson of Kentucky; Gov. Swanson of Virginia; Gov. Crawford of South Dakota; Gov. Stuart of Pennsylvania; Ex-Gov. Hill of Maine; Gov. Fear of Hawaii.

Fourth Row, standing, left to right—Mr. Shipp, Secretary of the Conference; Gifford Pinchot, Chief of Bureau of Forestry (who got up the Conference); Herbert Knox Smith, F. H. Newell, Chief of the U. S. Reclamation Service; Henry T. Clark, Thomas Pece, Gov. Curry of New Mexico, Gov. Johnson of Minnesota.

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State of Maine. At present she has 8,040 square miles; her population numbers approximately 3,000,000, most of whom are engaged in manufacturing and mercantile pursuits. Massachusetts and Rhode Island stand alone among the States in the fact that they elect their Governors every year. In no other State does the Governor serve less than two years, and most of them have a four-year term..

#### MICHIGAN.

GOVERNOR FRED M. WARNER (Republican), two years, term expires January, 1909; salary, \$4,000. Governor Warner is by trade a manufacturer of cheese. He is a foreigner by birth, being a native of Nottinghamshire, England, where he was born July 21, 1865. His parents removed to America when he was three months old, and a few months later his mother died. The child was adopted by Hon. P. D. Warner, of Farmington, Mich. He was sent to the public schools of that town, where he graduated at fourteen, and later attended the Michigan State Agricultural College, where he learned the business of cheesemaking.

At the age of twenty-three Mr. Warner was married to Miss Martha M. Davis, and the next year established a cheese factory at Farmington, and later established three others at various points, all of which he still operates. He also conducts a cold storage plant, and is a director in the Exchange Bank of Farmington. Mr. Warner entered politics at the age of thirty, when he was elected a member of the village council at Farmington, in which he served nine years, and was seven times the president of his home town. In the year 1900 he was elected Secretary of State, to which office he was re-elected in 1902, and from which office he stepped into that of the Governor of Michigan in 1904, and was re-elected to enter his second term in 1907.

Michigan was admitted to the Union in 1837. It has an area of 58,915 square miles, and the inhabitants in 1908 estimated at 2,650,000.

#### MINNESOTA.

GOVERNOR JOHN A. JOHNSON (Democrat), two years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$7,000. It has been said that Governor Johnson is "a Democrat by accident," having been called, when quite a young man, to the editorship of a small Democratic paper in his

native town of St. Peter, Minnesota, where he was born, July 28, 1861. It was his work on this paper and his interesting columns, "It's a Fact" and others, under which he classified impressive bits of news, philosophical statements and epigrammatic expressions that brought him into prominence as a man of wide learning and deep thought. Governor Johnson's learning, however, was not of the schools, but such as he had gleaned from extensive reading, as his parents, who were emigrants from Sweden, were extremely poor, and the boy had small educational advantages. He left school when less than fourteen years of age to assist his widowed mother in taking care of the younger members of the family; and from that time on he became not only the supporter of his mother and his younger brothers and sisters, but the head of the Johnson household.

At the age of thirteen the boy went to work in a drug store in St. Peter, using every odd moment in reading substantial books. Soon after he was twenty-one years of age he became editor and partly interested in the *St. Peter Herald*. This gave him the opportunity he wanted for extensive reading and research, but, unlike many men of brilliant minds, he did not overlook the importance of physical culture exercise. To obtain this he served seven years in the Minnesota National Guard, of which organization he became the captain. Later he went as State Senator from the St. Peter District. In 1904 he was elected Governor and re-elected in 1906. Governor Johnson was married at St. Peter, June 1, 1894, to Miss Elinore Preston. Like William Jennings Bryan, he is a prominent member of the Presbyterian Church.

Governor Johnson was renominated in August, 1908. He was nominated for President of the United States before the Democratic Convention at Denver, July 11, 1908, receiving 46 votes. He was also urged to allow his name to be placed before the convention for Vice-President, but declined.

Minnesota east of the Mississippi River came to the United States under the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. The State was admitted to the Union in 1858. It has an area of 83,365 square miles and its population in 1906 was estimated at 2,025,615. Its foreign born inhabitants number about 550,000, the Norwegian, Swedish and German elements being particularly strong.



## MISSISSIPPI.

GOVERNOR E. F. NOEL (Democrat), four years; term expires, January, 1912; salary, \$4,500. Governor Noel was born in the country near Lexington, Mississippi, March 4, 1856. He attended the district schools in Louisville, Kentucky, and spent three years in the high school of that city. He later read law in the office of his uncle, Major D. W. Sanders, of Louisville. Was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one in 1877. He immediately began the practice of law at his old home in Lexington, Mississippi, where he has since continued to live. In 1895 he became a member of the firm of Noel & Pepper. He was also made vice-president and attorney of the Bank of Lexington. He served as captain of Company K, Second Infantry, Mississippi Volunteers, in the Spanish-American War. Like most young lawyers, Governor Noel yielded to the political bee early in life. He became a member of the Mississippi House of Representatives in 1881 and served as District-Attorney from 1887 to 1891. Was a member of the Senate from 1895 to 1903. In 1905 he was married to Mrs. Alice Tye Neilson. In 1907 he was elected for a four-year term as Governor of the State, entering office in January, 1908. Governor Noel is a thirty-two degree Mason and also a prominent member of the Baptist Church.

Mississippi was admitted to the Union in 1817. It contains seventy-six counties, covering an area of 46,810 square miles. The population in 1906 was 1,706,000, of whom over 9,000 are negroes.

## MISSOURI.

GOVERNOR JOSEPH W. FOLK (Democrat), four years; term expires January, 1909; salary, \$5,000. Mr. Folk is one of the youngest Governors in the country. He was born at Brownsville, Tenn., October 28, 1869, in which State he grew up and finished his education at the Vanderbilt University. He was admitted to the bar in St. Louis in 1890, and at once entered public life as a circuit attorney in St. Louis from 1900 to 1904. He gained prominence by the prosecution of numerous bribery cases. Like Governor Hughes of New York, in his prosecution of the life insurance and other frauds, young Folk became a popular idol and was regarded as the best man in the Governor's chair for the prosecution of graft and dishonesty. In 1905 he

was made Governor of Missouri for a term of four years. Mr. Folk was married in his native town of Brownsville, Tenn., November 10, 1896, to Miss Gertrude Glass. He has been prominent in national politics, and was among those mentioned before the Democratic Convention in 1908 as Vice-Presidential candidate, but declined to let his name go before the convention.

Missouri was admitted to the Union in 1821 with a population at that time of less than 60,000 people in the State. In 1906 its population was estimated at 3,366,000, a little over 200,000 being foreign born. The State has an area of 69,415 square miles, divided into 115 counties.

#### MONTANA.

GOVERNOR JOSEPH K. TOOLE (Democrat), term four years; expires January 4, 1909; salary, \$5,000. Joseph Toole is a native of Savananh, Mo., where he was born May 12, 1851. He was educated in the public school of his native town and the academy of St. Joseph, Mo. At the age of nineteen he removed to Montana and soon after established himself in the practice of law. He has been intimately associated in the public life of Montana from the days when it was a territory. He was District Attorney for two terms and was a member of the Territorial Legislature in 1879. From 1884 to 1888 he served as a delegate to Congress; and in 1889 became a member of the Constitutional Convention of the State, which was that year admitted to the Union. In recognition of the work he did in that capacity Mr. Toole was elected as the first Governor, serving one four-year term, ending in 1893. In 1900 he was again called to serve his State as Governor, and in 1904 he was again elected. Hence, at the expiration of his present term in 1909 he will have served three times as Governor of Montana.

On April 1, 1908, Governor Toole resigned his office, and Edwin L. Norris became Governor for the unexpired portion of the term.

Montana as a State is not yet a quarter of a century old, it having been admitted to the Union on Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1889. The State has an area of 145,310 square miles. In 1870 it had a population of 20,595 souls. In 1906 the population was estimated at 303,575.

## NEBRASKA.

GOVERNOR GEORGE L. SHELDON (Republican), three years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$2,500. Governor Sheldon is a native of Nebraska—born in Nehawka of that State, May 31, 1870, three years after his State was admitted to the Union. Governor Sheldon is a man of broad education. He graduated with a degree of B.L. from the University of Nebraska in 1892 and the next year took the degree of A.B. at Harvard. Two years later, in 1895, he married Miss Rose Higgins, of Roseville, Ill. In 1898, when this country went to war with Spain, he became the captain of Company B of the Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry. In 1907 he was inaugurated Governor of his State for a term of two years.

Nebraska was admitted to the Union in 1867. The State has an area of 77,520 square miles. The population is estimated at 1,100,000, of whom about 180,000 are foreign born.

## NEVADA.

GOVERNOR JOHN SPARKS (Democrat), four years; term expires, December, 1910; salary, \$4,000.

Governor John Sparks, at the time of his death, May 22, 1908, was serving his second term as Governor of Nevada. Don. S. Dickerson succeeded to the office to fill the unexpired term. Mr. Dickerson is thirty-four years old—the youngest Governor his State has had. Inasmuch as this is Governor Sparks' term, it is proper that this sketch should refer to him. He was a native of Mississippi, having been born in that State in August, 1843. He went to Nevada in his young manhood and interested himself in mining. He was, at the time of his death, one of the extensive operators in the State and his mines were run under Union Labor. As a public-spirited citizen Governor Sparks insisted that the climate of Nevada was better adapted for cattle raising than any other in the world. To prove it he ran an extensive ranch near Reno, that State.

The historic strike of the miners, which began in 1907, necessitating the sending of United States Troops to the State and the violent criticism of President Roosevelt, gave Governor Sparks, who was ill at the time, great worry, and perhaps aggravated the Bright's disease from which he was suffering, and ultimately died.

Nevada was ceded to the United States by Mexico in 1848 as a portion of California. It was admitted to the Union as a State in



1864. The State has an area of 110,700 square miles. Notwithstanding this large area, in point of population it has the smallest number of inhabitants ever admitted to the Union, being less than 35,000 people at the time of its admission; and its present population is less than 50,000. Another interesting fact about Nevada's population is that in 1880 there were 62,000 people in the State, which presents the singular condition of having diminished in population rather than increased during the past thirty years. The State is rich in minerals and precious metals, and it has made marked progress during the last decade.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

GOVERNOR CHARLES M. FLOYD (Republican), two years; term expires, 1909; salary, \$2,000. Charles M. Floyd was elected Governor of New Hampshire in 1907 to serve for a term of two years.

He was born on a farm in Derry, New Hampshire, June 5, 1861, and was educated in the public schools of his native town. At an early age he entered upon a business career in which he has been pre-eminently successful. He is connected with several important manufacturing enterprises. He also holds the position of trustee of the Amoskeag Savings Bank. His public spirit has done much for the development of Manchester, New Hampshire. He is a director of the Manchester Building and Loan Association and is on the Board of Trade of the city. He also served on the school board and the water board and represented the Seventh District of the State in the Senate. In social life Governor Floyd is a prominent Mason, Odd Fellow, Elk, Knight of Pythias and a Patron of Husbandry. He is a member of a number of clubs and a generous contributor to religious, benevolent and philanthropic enterprises. The home life of the Governor with his wife and daughter is said to be ideal. They have many friends and are generous in their hospitality.

The Constitution of New Hampshire was adopted in 1783 and it joined the Union as one of the original thirteen States in 1788. New Hampshire is one of our small States in area, with only 8,315 square miles and with a population estimated at 425,000. It has a thrifty, industrious people and is noted for its educational institutions.

#### NEW JERSEY.

GOVERNOR JOHN FRANKLIN FORT (Republican), three years; term expires, January, 1911; salary, \$10,000. Governor Fort is a

lawyer by profession, having been admitted to the bar in 1873. He was born at Pemberton, N. J., March 20, 1852. His education was acquired at Mt. Holly Institute and the Pennington Seminary, in his native State. In law he graduated at the Albany Law School in 1872. Soon after being admitted to the bar he entered politics, becoming a journal clerk in the New Jersey Legislature, after which he resumed his practice. In 1878 he was made Judge of the District Court of Newark, which position he retained for eight years. From 1896 to 1900 he was President Judge of the Common Pleas Court of Essex County of New Jersey, and, for the next seven years, was Justice of the Superior Court of the State. In 1884 he was delegate-at-large to the National Republican Convention, and twelve years later, in 1896, as delegate to the same body of that year he presented the name of Garret A. Hobart for Vice-President. It was while serving as Justice of the Superior Court that he was nominated and elected to the office of Governor.

New Jersey was one of the thirteen original states. It ratified the Federal Constitution on December 18, 1787. The area of the State is 7,525 square miles. In 1906, its estimated population was 2,200,000.

#### NEW MEXICO.

GOVERNOR GEORGE CURRY (Republican), four years; term expires January, 1910; salary \$3,000.

Governor George Curry was born at Bayou Sara, Louisiana, April 3, 1863. In 1875 he moved to Dodge City with his widowed mother, and in 1879, after the death of his mother, he removed to Lincoln County, New Mexico, and secured employment on a sheep ranch.

From 1880 to 1888 the boy and young man engaged in various clerkships in mercantile establishments. He entered politics in 1888, and was active for ten years in various capacities: County Clerk, County Assessor, Sheriff; member of the Territorial Senate of the Ninth District of New Mexico, President of the Senate, Chairman of its Finance Committee.

At the breaking out of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Governor Otero appointed Mr. Curry as first lieutenant of the Rough Riders. In 1899, President McKinley sent him to the Philippine Islands, where Governor Lawton placed him in command of the regimental scouts of the Eleventh Cavalry. He had command of the advance guard at the battle of San Mateo, where General Lawton was killed.

He later served as provost marshal and provost judge of Naic, Cavite Province, and as Governor of the Camarines, to which office he was appointed by William H. Taft, the then Governor-General. He later became successively chief of the police of the City of Manila, Governor of the Province of Isabella; and, in April, 1905, was made Governor of Samar, at that time the most turbulent island of the Philippines, which, after two years, he restored to such order that the people were allowed to elect their own officers.

Mr. Curry resigned as Governor of Samar on June 20, 1907, and came to the United States to accept the appointment from President Roosevelt as Governor of New Mexico. He was inaugurated on August 8, 1907.

Governor Curry belongs to the Order of Elks and also to the Knights of Pythias.

New Mexico Territory, from the time of its discovery by Europeans, was politically associated with that of Mexico, and came to us as a result of the War of 1848 with that country. The area of the territory is 122,460 square miles. Its population in 1907 was estimated at 400,000 people, which was more than twice the population shown by the census eight years before. The State is rich in minerals, and with proper irrigation is also rich in agricultural possibilities. The people are nearly all whites with the exception of 19,000 Indians.

#### NEW YORK.

GOVERNOR CHARLES E. HUGHES (Republican), two years; term expires 1909; salary, \$10,000. Governor Hughes is a lawyer of profound learning, a prodigious worker and a man of unimpeachable integrity. He was born at Glen Falls, N. Y., on April 11, 1862. He has a finished education, being an A.B. of Colgate University and an A.M. of Brown University and LL.D. of Columbia Law School, where he graduated in his professional course in 1884 at the age of twenty-two. Later the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him in 1906 by Columbia University and in 1907 by Knox and Lafayette.

Prior to his election as Governor Mr. Hughes had been devoted to his profession and given little thought to politics. He was admitted to the bar in 1884 and practiced law in New York from that year until 1891, when he became a profesor and a special lecturer in Cornell University and later in the New York Law School. It was in 1905 that the way to political prominence opened itself when he was made counsel of the Armstrong Insurance Commission in the New York Legislature and at the same time became special assistant to the United States Attorney-General in the coal investigation. This investigation forced him into the public eye, and he was nominated for Mayor of New York by the Republicans in 1905, but declined to run. In 1907 he was elected Governor of New York.

Notwithstanding his busy life Mr. Hughes has always been a man among men. He is trustee of Brown's University and a member of the New York State Bar Association, and of the Bar Association of the City of New York. He is also a prominent member of the Republican Club, the Union League, the University Club, the Lawyers', and others. His name was put in nomination for President of the United States by the New York delegation at the Chicago Convention in 1908, and he would undoubtedly have been the party's



nominee for Vice-President but for his positive declination to accept the office.

New York was one of the thirteen original States. Its large population and influence has given it the title of the Empire State of the Union. Its area is 49,170 square miles and its population in 1908 is estimated at not less than eight and one-half millions, fully two millions of whom are foreign born, nearly one-half million of them being German and nearly one-half million Irish. New York City is said to contain more Jews than ever lived in any city on the face of the earth—about one in every five of its population being of the Hebrew race.

#### NORTH CAROLINA.

GOVERNOR ROBERT B. GLENN (Democrat), four years; term expires, 1909; salary, \$4,000. Governor Glenn is a native of North Carolina—born in Rockingham County, August 11, 1854. He was educated by a private teacher at home, later in the High School at Leaksville, N. C., later in Davidson College of that State. He finished his academic course at the University of Virginia and studied law at Pearson's Law School at Richmond Hill, N. C. In 1878 he was married to Miss Nina Deaderick and the same year entered the general practice of law at Donboy, N. C. In 1886 he formed a partnership with W. B. Glenn and in 1891 another partnership with Moody & Hendron.

Politically Governor Glenn has had a long and varied experience. He was a member of the Legislature of his State in 1881, and became State Solicitor in 1886. He served in the Electoral College for Grover Cleveland in 1884 and again in 1892. From 1893 to 1897 he was United States District Attorney. In his younger days Governor Glenn served successively as captain and major in the National State Corps. He is a member of the Presbyterian Church and an advocate of prohibition. It was largely through his efforts that the prohibition cause was victorious in North Carolina in 1908.

Hon. William Walton Kitchin, member of Congress, was named by the Democratic party as the next Governor to assume the duties of the office in January, 1909.

North Carolina has always been prominent in the history of the nation. It declared its independence in 1776, and in 1789 joined the United States as one of the original States. It has an area of 52,250

square miles, divided into ninety-eight counties. Its population is estimated at about 2,000,000 souls.

#### NORTH DAKOTA.

GOVERNOR JOHN BURKE (Democrat), two years; term expires, 1909; salary, \$3,000. Governor Burke is a native of Iowa, having been born in Keokuk County, that State, February 25, 1859. He was educated in the public schools of his native county in Iowa and in the Law Department of the State University, graduating from the latter in 1886, and immediately began the practice of law in Des Moines. After two years, however, he moved to North Dakota, where he at once became prominent in public affairs. Between 1889 and 1898 he served two terms as County Judge of Rolette County, N. D. He later served one term in the North Dakota House of Representatives, and one in the Senate of the State. Governor Burke is a member of the law firm of Burke & Middaugh, of Devil's Lake, N. D. He is a member of the State Bar Association of North Dakota and prominent in the Catholic Church. He was married in 1891 to Miss Mary Kane, of Rolla, N. D.

North Dakota originally constituted a part of the Louisiana Purchase by Thomas Jefferson. The State was admitted to the Union in 1889. It has an area of 70,795 square miles, divided into forty-five counties. The population is estimated at something over 500,000, about one-fourth of whom are foreign born.

#### OHIO.

GOVERNOR ANDREW L. HARRIS (Republican), two years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$10,000. Governor Harris is one of the oldest men occupying the office of Governor. He was born in Butler County, Ohio, November 17, 1835. He is a veteran of the Civil War, having entered the army as volunteer in 1861, and was promoted through all the grades from private up to and including brigadier-general. After the war he studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1865. The same year he married Miss Caroline Conger, of West Florence, Ohio. He practiced law until 1875, when he became a probate judge, in which capacity he served until 1882. Meantime he had also entered politics, serving as State Senator from 1865 to 1867. He also served in the Ohio House of Representatives from 1885 to 1889. In 1892 he was made Lieutenant Governor of

the State, in which capacity he served for four years. Governor Harris is a graduate of Miami University. From 1898 to 1902 he was a member of the United States Industrial Commission. He is also a member of the Grand Army of the Republic and Loyal Legion.

Ohio was admitted to the Union as a State in 1803. It has an area of 41,060 square miles, divided into eighty-eight counties. It is one of the most progressive States of the Union, having furnished several Presidents—William H. Taft, Republican candidate in 1908, is from that State. The population of Ohio is estimated at 4,500,000.

#### OKLAHOMA.

GOVERNOR CHARLES N. HASKELL (Democrat), four years; term expires, December 31, 1910; salary, \$4,500. The first Governor of the new State of Oklahoma is a native of Ohio. He was born in Putnam County, in that State, in 1860. He was reared on a farm, taught country school and read law and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one, beginning his practice at Ottawa, Ohio. In 1888 he temporarily abandoned the law to engage in railway building and other construction work. It was in this capacity that he went to Oklahoma (then Indian Territory) in 1901 and was prominently connected with the building of railroads in that Territory. He took an interest in public affairs from the moment he became identified with his adopted territorial home, and assisted materially in bringing about its Statehood. He was a member of the old Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and was elected its first Governor in 1907. Governor Haskell has been twice married, first in 1881 to Miss Lucie Pomeroy, who died seven years later. In 1889 he married Lillie E. Gallup.

Oklahoma at this date is the youngest member of our sisterhood of States. Oklahoma Territory and the Indian Territory were united to form the State of Oklahoma. On November 16, 1907, President Roosevelt signed the proclamation declaring that the new State had entered the Union. Its constitution is unique and remarkable in several respects. Oklahoma claims that it has the most democratic constitution of any State in the Union.

#### OREGON.

GOVERNOR GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN (Democrat), four years; term expires, 1911; salary, \$5,000. Governor Chamberlain is now



serving his second four years' terms in the Gubernatorial office. He is a native Southerner—born near Natchez, Miss., January 1, 1854. He was educated at Washington and Lee University, in Virginia, where he received both his academic and professional education, having graduated with the degree of A.B., B.L. in 1876. The same year he removed to the State of Oregon and began the practice of law. He took an active interest in politics from the start, going to the Legislature in 1880. Four years later he was elected District Attorney for the Third Judicial District of the State, and was appointed Attorney-General of Oregon in 1891. He was elected to the same position the next year and served in that capacity until 1895. In 1900 he became District Attorney for the Fourth Judicial District of Oregon for a four years' term, which was interrupted, however, in 1903, when he was elected Governor, which office he has since held.

Three years after his removal to Oregon in 1876 he went back to his native State to get his bride. He was married May 21, 1879, to Miss Sarah Newman Welch, of Natchez, Miss.

Oregon was admitted to the Union in 1859. It has an area of 96,030 square miles, divided into thirty-three counties. Its population was estimated in 1906 at 475,000.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

GOVERNOR EDWIN S. STUART (Republican), four years; term expires, 1911; salary, \$10,000. Governor Stuart is one of the prominent politicians of the nation who did not enter politics through the medium of the law. On the contrary, his business has been that of publishing and selling books. Every visitor to Philadelphia is familiar with Leary's Old Book Store. It is with this that Governor Stuart has been prominently connected for nearly forty years. He was born in Philadelphia, December 28, 1853. He was educated in the public schools of that State. In 1907 the Lafayette University conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. He became prominent in politics in 1884, when he was made Republican Presidential Elector. He served in this same capacity again in 1900. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1888 and again in 1896. He served a four years' term as Mayor of Philadelphia, beginning in 1891. He was President of the Electoral College of Pennsylvania in 1901. Mr. Stuart has long been one of the trustees of the Estate of Stephen Girard, having charge of the Girard College.

Pennsylvania is one of the thirteen original States. It has an area of 45,086 square miles and a population estimated roundly in 1907 at 7,000,000. About one-fifth of the population of the State lives in the city of Philadelphia.

#### RHODE ISLAND.

GOVERNOR JAMES H. HIGGINS (Democrat), 1 year; term expires, 1909; salary, \$3,000. Governor Higgins, born at Lincoln, R. I., January 22, 1876, is still several years too young to have been nominated for the Presidency in 1908. He is a lawyer by profession. His academic education was received at Brown University, where he graduated in 1898. His legal education was completed at Georgetown University Law School, Washington, D. C., and he was admitted to the bar the same year. Two years later he became a member of the Rhode Island Legislature and the next year was made Mayor of Pawtucket, R. I., serving in that capacity until 1906, when he ran for Governor of the State and was elected in 1907 and again in 1908. The term of the office is only one year in Rhode Island.

Governor Higgins is a prominent member of the American Bar Association and of the Rhode Island Bar Association. He is also a prominent churchman of the Catholic faith.

Rhode Island entered the Union as one of the thirteen original States. It has the smallest area of any commonwealth in the United States, containing only 1,250 square miles. The population is estimated roundly at 500,000.

#### SOUTH CAROLINA.

GOVERNOR MARTIN F. ANSEL (Democrat), two years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$3,000. Governor Ansel was born in Charleston, S. C., December 12, 1850. After receiving a common school education at Walhalla, S. C., he studied law in the office of Major James H. Whitner and was admitted to the bar in 1870, just before reaching his majority. He was a member of the South Carolina House of Representatives for six years, from 1882 to 1888. During the latter year he was made Solicitor of the Eighth Judicial District of South Carolina, which position he retained until 1901. He ran for Governor of the State in 1902 and was defeated. He was more fortunate when he ran again four years later, and was elected

for the term which he is now serving. Governor Ansel has been twice married, first in 1878 to Miss Ophelia A. Speight, who died in 1895. His second marriage was in 1898 to Mrs. Addie R. Harris.

Governor Ansell was nominated in 1908 for a second term of two years ending January 14, 1911.

South Carolina entered the Union as one of the thirteen original States. It has an area of 30,570 square miles, divided into forty-four counties. The population of the State is estimated at 1,500,000, of whom considerably more than one-half are colored.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA.

GOVERNOR COE I. CRAWFORD (Republican), two years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$3,000. Governor Crawford is a native of the State of Iowa. He was born in Volney, of that State, January 14, 1858. His academic education was in the public schools of Rossville, and he later studied Latin and mathematics under a private tutor. In 1882 he graduated from the Law Department of the University of Iowa, and, the same year, was admitted to the bar and began practice at Independence, whence he removed in 1883 to Pierre, Dakota Territory. He soon after removed to Huron, S. D., where he practiced from 1884 to 1897. From 1886 to 1888 he was State's Attorney for Hughes County, Dakota Territory. In 1889 he was a member of the Territorial Legislative Council and next year a member to the South Dakota Senate. In 1892 he was elected as Attorney-General of South Dakota, in which office he served four years. In 1905 he was attorney for the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company in South Dakota. In 1899 he was president of the South Dakota Bar Association, and from 1904 to 1905 was a member of the General Council of the American Bar Association. He was elected Governor of the State in 1906 on the Republican ticket. Governor Crawford has been twice married. His first wife was Miss May Robinson, to whom he was married in 1884. His second marriage was to Miss Lavinia Robinson in 1896. Governor Crawford is a member of the Presbyterian Church.

The Dakotas form a part of the territory included in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. It was organized as a territory in 1861, and in 1889 it was divided by special law into North and South Dakota, the territory was thus admitted into the Union as two separate States.



South Dakota has an area of 76,850 square miles. The population is estimated to exceed 500,000, about one-sixth of the number being foreign born. There are about 20,000 Indians in the State.

#### TENNESSEE.

GOVERNOR MALCOLM R. PATTERSON (Democrat), two years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$4,000. Governor Patterson is a native of Somerville, Ala., where he was born June 7, 1861. His education was obtained in Tennessee. He graduated at the Christian Brothers' College, of Memphis, with a degree of A.M. and later studied at the Vanderbilt University. He was admitted to the bar and began practice in Tennessee in 1883. The next year he was nominated for the Legislature. He was defeated and continued the practice of law until 1894, when he was elected as Attorney-General for Shelby County, of which Memphis is the county seat. He held this position until the year 1900, when he resigned and was elected to Congress from the Tenth Tennessee District, in which capacity he served from 1901 to 1907, when he resigned to take up the duties of the Governor's office. On the 27th of June, 1908, the Democratic party renominated Governor Patterson to succeed himself in 1909.

Tennessee is one of the old States of the Union, having been admitted in 1796. It has an area of 42,050 square miles, divided into ninety-six counties. The estimated population of the State in 1906 was 2,175,000.

#### TEXAS.

GOVERNOR THOMAS M. CAMPBELL (Democrat), two years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$4,000. Governor Campbell is a native of Texas. He was born at Rusk, that State, April 22, 1856. He was educated in the public schools, later attended Trinity University at Tehuacana. His legal education was obtained from private reading at Longview, Texas, where he was admitted to the bar in 1878, and entered upon the practice of his profession. His success was marked from the beginning, and in 1889 he was made Master in Chancery. While in this position he became receiver for the International and Great Northern Railroad from 1891 to 1892 and general manager of the same for five years—1892 to 1897. He was inaugurated Governor of Texas in 1907, and in 1908 stood for re-election for a second term ending January, 1911.

Texas is known as the Empire State of the South. Its enormous area exceeds that of the whole of New England and two or three prominent Northern States combined. Its 265,780 square miles are divided into two hundred and forty-six counties. Its vast area might accommodate the whole population of the United States and still not be as densely settled as Belgium. The estimated population of Texas in 1908 was 3,600,000.

#### UTAH.

GOVERNOR JOHN C. CUTLER (Republican), four years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$4,000. Governor Cutler is by calling a merchant and a business man with many interests. He came to this country from Sheffield, England, where he was born in 1846 and where he was educated in a private school. He began business as agent of the Provo Woolen Mills in Utah thirty odd years ago. In 1895 he incorporated his business under the name of Cutler Brothers Company, of which he became the president. He engaged extensively in sugar manufacture and became director in the Utah Sugar Company and in the Idaho Sugar Company. At the same time he interested himself considerably in other financial and mercantile enterprises, serving as director in the Deseret National Bank, the Deseret Savings Bank of Salt Lake City; also as a director in the Utah County Light and Power Company, in the Home Fire Insurance Company of Utah and of the First National Bank of Murray, Utah, and of the People's Co-operative Institute of Lehi, Utah; also vice-president of the Beneficial Life Insurance Company. Governor Cutler is a Mormon and belongs to the Church of Latter Day Saints. He is also a prominent member of the Alta and Commercial Clubs, in which he has served as vice-president. He was married in Salt Lake City April 3, 1872, to Miss Sarah Elizabeth Taylor. In a political sense Governor Cutler cannot be said to have had a large experience. He was county clerk of Salt Lake County from 1884 to 1890. He was elected Governor in 1905.

Utah was admitted to the Union in 1896. The State has an area of 84,928 square miles, divided into twenty-seven counties. The population is estimated in 1908 at 400,000, of whom about 2,000 are Indians.

## VERMONT.

GOVERNOR FLETCHER D. PROCTOR (Republican), two years; term expires, October, 1908; salary, \$1,500. Governor Proctor stands unique among the Governors of the United States in that he receives, by \$500, the smallest paid to the Chief Executive of any State. He was born at Cavendish, Vt., November 7, 1860, was educated at the Middlebury High School and at Amherst College. He has served two terms as Governor of the State, being elected first October, 1906, and again in 1908 on the Republican ticket. He has long been prominent in the State as a sound and progressive business man, serving as president of both the Vermont Marble Company and the Proctor Trust Company and also of the Barney Marble Company. He was married May 26, 1886, to Miss Minnie E. Robinson, of Westford, Vt.

The State of Vermont was admitted to the Union February 18, 1791. It has an area of 9,565 square miles, divided into fourteen counties, with a population estimated in 1908 at 355,000.

## VIRGINIA.

GOVERNOR CLAUDE A. SWANSON (Democrat), four years; term expires, February, 1910; salary, \$5,000. Governor Swanson has had a varied career. He was born at Swansonville, March 31, 1862, was educated at the public schools, then taught school for one year, after which he attended one session at the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College. Subsequently he became a clerk in a store for a short time, after which he resumed his studies in Randolph-Macon College, where he graduated in 1885. One year later he graduated from the Law Department of the University of Virginia and began his practice at the town of Chatham. In 1893 he was elected as a member of Congress from the Fifth Virginia District, being re-elected to the same in 1905, but resigned, having been elected Governor in 1906.

Virginia is one of the thirteen original States. It has an area of 40,125 square miles and a population estimated roundly at 2,000,000. The State was long known as the mother of Presidents, Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe being four out of the first five Presidents of the Union coming from that State.



## WASHINGTON.

GOVERNOR ALBERT E. MEAD (Republican), four years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$4,000. Governor Mead is by profession a lawyer. He is a native of Kansas, in which State he was born, December 14, 1861, in the town of Manhattan. He was educated in the Southern Illinois Normal University at Carbondale, where he graduated in 1882. He studied law at the Union College of Law in Chicago during 1883 and 1884. He was admitted to the bar in Illinois and practiced before the Supreme Court in 1885. He later went to Kansas and practiced law in Wichita County until he removed to Washington in 1889. Soon after going to Washington he became interested in politics and was elected Mayor of Blaine, that State, in 1892. The next year he was elected to the Legislature of the State, where he served until 1895. Four years later he was made county attorney of Whatcom County, which position he held until 1901. He was elected Governor of the State for a four years' term in 1905. Governor Mead has been twice married.

Washington was formerly a part of Oregon, but had a separate territorial government from 1853 to 1889, when it was admitted to the Union as a State. The area of Washington is 66,880 square miles, divided into thirty-eight counties. The population was estimated in 1908 at over 1,000,000 souls.

## WEST VIRGINIA.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM M. O. DAWSON (Republican), four years; term expires, March 4, 1909; salary, \$5,000. Governor Dawson is a native of Maryland, in which State he was born in 1853. He lost his mother in childhood and as a boy worked in a cooper shop in Terre Alta, W. Va., alternating between working and attending the public schools. For several years he engaged in teaching country schools and clerking in small stores. About the time he was twenty-one years of age he took charge of the *Preston County Journal*, of which he finally became the owner. While editing this paper he studied law, and in 1875 was admitted to the bar and entered at once into practice.

Governor Dawson has long been a prominent Republican. He was thirteen years chairman of the County Committee of Preston County, and also chairman of the State Republican Committee for three years. For eight years he was a member of the State Senate

of West Virginia. He served for a term as Mayor of Kingwood. He was clerk of the House of Delegates in 1895 and was made State Secretary of West Virginia for eight years from 1897 to 1905, in which year he was elected to a four years' term as Governor of the State.

West Virginia was originally a part of the State of Virginia. In 1863 it separated from the mother State and entered the Union as an independent commonwealth. The State has an area of 24,715 square miles, divided into fifty-five counties, and a population of something more than 1,000,000 souls.

#### WISCONSIN.

GOVERNOR JAMES O. DAVIDSON (Republican), two years; term expires, January, 1909; salary, \$5,000. Governor Davidson is a Scandinavian. He was born in Norway, February 10, 1854. He came to the United States at the age of eighteen years, in 1872. He was educated in the parochial schools of Norway. Five years after he landed in the new country we find him engaged in the milling and mercantile business at Soldiers' Grove, Wis. He entered politics in 1893, when he was elected to the State Legislature. Six years later he was made State Treasurer for a term of four years and immediately succeeding that became Lieutenant Governor, serving until 1906 with Governor La Follette. When the latter resigned, in January of that year, he assumed the duties of United States Senator. Mr. Davidson became Governor for the balance of the term, and at the ensuing election succeeded regularly to the office for two years longer. Governor Davidson was married in Reedstown, February 21, 1883, to Miss Helen Bliss.

Wisconsin was admitted to the Union in 1848. It has an area of 56,040 square miles. The population in 1908 is estimated at 2,350,000, about one-fourth of whom are foreign born.

#### WYOMING.

GOVERNOR BRYANT B. BROOKS (Republican), four years; term expires, January, 1911; salary, \$2,500. Governor Brooks is by occupation a stock raiser. He is a native of Massachusetts—born at Bernardston, that State, February 5, 1861. Before he was twenty-one years of age he removed to Wyoming, and has been successfully

engaged in the growing of all kinds of live stock in that State on a large scale as well as in mining and in politics. He was president of the B. B. Brooks Company and also of the Brooks-Hudson Company and of the Coal Creek Coal Company; also a director in the Casper National Bank. He entered politics in 1892 as a member of the Wyoming Legislature. Four years later he was sent as a delegate to the National Republican Convention at St. Louis, and he was also an elector on the McKinley ticket in 1900. He has been twice elected Governor of his State, his first term beginning January, 1905. The second term will expire January, 1911. Governor Brooks was married on March 10, 1886, to Miss Mary Naomi Willard, of Alexandria, Nebraska. He is a prominent thirty-third degree Mason.

Wyoming was admitted as a State of the Union in 1890. It has an area of 97,890 square miles, divided into thirteen counties. The census of the State, taken in 1905, showed a population of 101,816.

#### OUTLYING TERRITORY.

Lying beyond the bounds of the United States proper we have the following Territories, the Governors of which are appointed by the President:

ALASKA.—Organized July 27, 1868. Area, 590,884 square miles. Estimated population, 65,000. Governor, Wilford H. Hoggatt. Term, four years. Expires March 21, 1910. Salary, \$5,000.

HAWAII.—Organized June 14, 1900. Area, 6,449 square miles. Estimated population, 165,000. Governor, Walter F. Frear. Term, four years. Expires June 28, 1911. Salary, \$5,000.

PORTO RICO.—Ceded to United States by Spain. Area, 3,435 square miles. Estimated population, 960,000. Governor, Regis H. Post. Term, four years. Expires March 6, 1911. Salary, \$8,000.

THE PHILIPPINES are a dependent government, at present administered under the direction of the United States. They are not considered as a part of our country and have not been organized on a territorial basis, though they are at present a possession of the United States. The same may be said of the Island of Guam and the Panama Canal strip.



## CHAPTER XLIII.

### GROVER CLEVELAND.

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When some future Plutarch shall embalm the lives of America's greatest men in literature, the name of Grover Cleveland will doubtless stand at the head of one of the chapters. Mr. Cleveland was the twenty-second and also the twenty-fourth President of the United States. He was born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. He died in his home at Princeton, in the same state, June 24, 1908, aged seventy-one years and three months.

If one were called upon to name the foremost men who have guided the nation since its beginning, the names of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Cleveland would link themselves together as by a magic band, because in each of these men those characteristics are embodied which the American people exact from all to whom they accord the meed of true greatness. Both in public office and in private life Grover Cleveland was a positive force, and he brought to the public such elements of rugged strength that we do not yet fully appreciate—in fact, future history alone will reveal how great his services were.

For long years before his death Cleveland was recognized as "the sage of the Democratic Party." For more than a quarter of a century he was the dominant figure of the Democracy, and his name and his deeds are inseparably associated with every achievement of that party since the Civil War. His eight years in the Presidency are conspicuous periods in national development, displaying an original recognition of the attitude of government toward the individual, and the associations of individuals, in all legitimate business interests, large and small.

The country feels a just pride in recalling Cleveland's wise and dignified statesmanship in our relations with other nations. While he was a partisan of the strongest type, it is asserted by his political friends and foes alike that he was a partisan from principle only, and

that he ever insisted "the service of the party must be the service of the country." He would not temporize for personal or party advantage. He did, absolutely, what he believed for the best interest of his country; and his sense of right knew no compromise. On hearing of his death, President Roosevelt declared, "The nation has been deprived of one of its greatest citizens." This was a just tribute, for to his unswerving purpose and clear judgment our national health and integrity owes many of its greatest benefits. For some of these benefits Mr. Cleveland had to fight as few other Presidents of the United States have fought, and he did it always with a morality of purpose and a loftiness of courage that not only marked the sterling honesty and unswerving patriotism of the man, but dignified our nation in the eyes of the civilized world.

Briefly outlined, these events stand out in Mr. Cleveland's life:

Born in Caldwell, N. J., March 18, 1837.

Admitted to the bar, at Buffalo, N. Y., 1859.

Appointed Assistant District Attorney, Erie County, N. Y., 1863.

Elected Sheriff of Erie County, 1870.

Elected Mayor of Buffalo, 1881.

Elected Governor of the State of New York, 1882.

Elected President of the United States, 1884.

Married, June 2, 1886.

Defeated for the Presidency, 1888.

Re-elected to the Presidency, 1892.

Died at Princeton, N. J., June 24, 1908.

The story of Grover Cleveland's busy life would fill volumes, and the future historian and biographer will doubtless contribute them to our literature in due season. The tribute of the Democratic Party to his memory will be found in the proceedings of the national convention of 1908, treated in a previous chapter of this volume. President Roosevelt and many dignitaries of State and nation attended his funeral. Flags on the White House and departmental buildings were displayed at half mast for thirty days, and military and naval honors were rendered in barracks and on ships throughout the nation by order of the President's proclamation. Telegrams of sympathy from thousands flooded his widow and children, who reside at the family home in Princeton, N. J., near the grave of him they love and the world delights to honor.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

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Beginning with 1861 there have been nine Republican Presidents of the United States. The first, Lincoln—whose memory is enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen—alone stands greater in the public estimation than Theodore Roosevelt, the heroic champion of right and “the square deal policy,” whose administration closes March 4, 1909.

Mr. Roosevelt is familiarly known as our “Strenuous President.” Others have characterized him as “Andrew Jackson Educated.” These phrases describe him well. Perhaps, there has not been in the history of our nation any holder of public office who has done so much or said so much, apparently under the impulse of the moment, as the last incumbent of the White House; and that there is much in common between the character of Andrew Jackson and Theodore Roosevelt is also true. The honesty of Jackson finds its counterpart in Roosevelt. They are alike in impetuosity. Both have often jumped at conclusions that calm judgment might have advised deliberation upon. This, however, is characteristic of men who “do things,” that is, many things and great things in short order. Old Hickory’s unswerving patriotism and predominant courage and if we may say that unusual development of self-esteem, frequently designated as egotism, manifests a no less degree of development in the present executive head of America’s ninety million subjects.

In their antagonism to monopolies which appear against the interests of the people and with menace to the government the two are much alike. Jackson’s assault upon the National Bank which boasted of itself as a power in the control of public affairs, was not more aggressive and uncompromising than Roosevelt’s investigation and earnest prosecution of the formidable trusts in 1905-6 and 7. Again, if Jackson dictated to the Democrats in 1836 the calling of Martin Van Buren as his successor, Roosevelt, no less the master of his party, named William H. Taft to the Republicans in 1908 as the one upon whom his mantle of authority should descend. If Roosevelt is a



broader-minded and safer pilot of the "Ship of State" than was Andrew Jackson, the fact is doubtless due to his larger education and broader culture. In other words, eliminating the differences in their environments, or allowing for whatever differences these made in their characters, it is not difficult to agree with the statement that "Theodore Roosevelt is Andrew Jackson Educated."

The life-story of Theodore Roosevelt would, with the interesting details of his strenuous and varied career, fill volumes. But he is also one of the most representative of Americans in an all round sense. The blood of the North and the blood of the South courses in his veins. The Dutch tenacity, persistence and patient, untiring capacity for digging and plodding, inherited from his father, Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., of New York, fired and energized by the dash, assertiveness, nervous intensity and keen sense of honor, inherited from Martha Bulloch, of Georgia, his blue-blooded Southern mother, have produced this marvelous man of brain and blood and brawn, whose steam-engine force, courage and achievements are at once the wonder and pride of his countrymen.

On October 27, 1908, he crosses the half-century mark of fifty years. His life has been clean and pure, active and courageous—a model for young men to emulate. He graduated at Harvard University in 1880. At twenty-three years of age he entered the New York Legislature and at once began digging up graft and corruption. He became a storm center then, and he has been a storm center ever since in the fight against evil. His achievements as United States Civil Service Commissioner, as Police Commissioner of New York, as Assistant Secretary of the United States Navy, as organizer and Colonel of the Rough Riders, as Governor of New York, and for two terms President of the United States, would make a volume of real historical romance, more fascinating than fiction. Add to this the fact that he has been a writer as well as a maker of history, having written more voluminously than any other President, and that he is a scientist of rare attainment in the field of zoölogy, and that as a ranchman and hunter he ranks with our most famous frontiersmen—and we must agree that we have in Theodore Roosevelt a man the most unique in personality and achievements, perhaps of anyone of his age, to be found in American history.

\*48—The numerous portraits and illustrations in this work do not have the pages numbered. By adding them to the above folio, 480, the volume will be found to contain considerably over 500 pages.





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